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GENERAL SMUTS has secured his majority in the South African elections, and the Empire is invited by the press to give a sigh of relief; it is still intact; South Africa is not a republic. The fact that the Nationalist opponents of General Smuts and of his South African-Unionist fusion party refused to fight on the issue of secession did not daunt the supporters of imperial integrity. They were set upon saving the British Empire even if no danger confronted it. According to the latest reports, the Smuts party has secured 76 seats, an increase of 11 over the combined South African-Unionist representation in the election of last March. The Nationalists, with several country districts—presumably Nationalist in sentiment—yet to be heard from, dropped from 43 to 40—an inconsiderable loss. But the Labor Party, which made a spectacular campaign last spring and secured 21 seats, has lost 12, at least 8 of which went to the new Smuts fusion party. A reading of the campaign documents printed in this issue of the International Relations Section will render the issue clear and the result intelligible. The Nationalist representation is intact, the Labor Party—which supports the imperial connection—is badly beaten; or, in other words, the status of the Empire is just what it was before the election, but radicalism is for the time being crushed.

THE American relief workers who have recently arrived in Ireland find their field of activity limited by Dublin Castle. It is not yet certain whether they will be allowed to work in the martial law area—where the need is naturally greatest; and there are ominous stories of refusal to permit them to aid those who have been punished by the British military authorities. Since the authorities have openly taken to destruction of homes of those who merely refuse to act as informers, such prohibition of relief would seem to be a cold, calculated form of cruelty almost beyond belief. Yet there is nothing too cruel or too inhuman to fall to Ireland's lot. The threatened strike of British railwaymen in protest against the shooting of their fellow-railwaymen at Mallow seems destined to fizzle. Parliament reopens with an embittered opposition, strengthened by such honest conservatives as Lord Robert Cecil, but the coalition of the ablest minds and finest spirits of three parties seems to avail nothing against the sodden power of Lloyd George's stupid and selfish majority.

FOUR ships loaded with relief supplies for Soviet Russia and the Ukraine have sailed from the port of New York within the past three months. Most of these supplies were indirectly purchased by the Soviet Government. The two independent relief organizations which have persisted, despite official obstruction, in their struggle to do relief work where it was most needed, the Jewish Joint Distribution Board and the American Friends Service Committee, have also landed supplies within Soviet Russia and are distributing them. We recently announced the gift of $50,000 worth of relief supplies by the American Red Cross to the Friends Service Committee. Mr. Hoover's organization, the American Relief Administration, has just given $100,000 worth of relief supplies for the same purpose. We hope that these large organizations, if they will not go into Russia directly, will continue and expand this policy of aid to organizations which do.

TWENTY-ONE Marines attacked and completely destroyed the plant of *La Tribuna* of Managua, Nicaragua, because that newspaper contained an article which offended them. *La Tribuna* is the leading liberal paper of Nicaragua and has consistently protested against the American occupation. Of course, we all had somehow gathered—those few of us who happen to know at all that American forces have been in Nicaragua for the last eight years and that they have killed somewhat more than two thousand Nicaraguans—that our Marines were sent and are being maintained there to preserve order. At least that is the official version. The truth is that they were sent there to protect the investments of a large New York banking house. But when these appointed guardians of law and order, wearing the uniforms of a great democracy, themselves start rioting and destroying property, and the news trickles out, what next? Appoint a court martial of course, sentence a few of the rioting privates, and take care that the news doesn't leak again. The Congressional committee which purposes to look into our extraterritorial ventures will find the story of Nicaragua second in interest only to that of Santo Domingo and Haiti. Though differing in detail the processes of enslavement have been very like.

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MEANWHILE it is pleasing to announce the arrival in the United States of a Haitian Commission, consisting of M. Paulus Sannon, Haitian Minister to the United States during the Taft administration, and M. Stenio Vincent, president of the Haitian Senate which was dissolved, literally at the point of the pistol, by Brigadier-General Smedley D. Butler, in 1915. The latter is the same officer whom Nicaraguan mothers invoke when they desire to frighten their children: "Hush! Major Butler will get you" has been a current maternal warning in Nicaragua for years. The arrival of the Haitian commission coincides both with the statement of Admiral Knapp giving the American occupation of Haiti the cleanest of bills of health, and, paradoxically, with the worst smallpox epidemic in the memory of living Haitians. Congress cannot investigate too soon or too thoroughly.

BERNARD M. BARUCH, formerly chairman of the War Industries Board, was asked lately by the Kansas State Board of Agriculture for suggestions that would help to put farming on a more businesslike and profitable basis. His recommendations, so far as they go, coincide closely with the program of the National Nonpartisan League (which American Legion members have been trying to keep out of Kansas), embodying three main proposals: (1) public warehouses where farm produce will be fairly graded and safely stored; (2) cheap loans on such produce; (3) market reports for farmers. Mr. Baruch's proposals were formulated with the grain crop chiefly in mind, but may be applied to cotton, tobacco, and other large-scale produce as well. The principle, he explains, is that "the producer must be placed on a footing of equal opportunity with the buyer." Adequate warehouse facilities for farmers would obviously place in their hands much of the power now held by food dealers and speculators, and the receipts for produce could either be sold by the farmer or used as security for loans. Mr. Baruch notes that the Government maintains an elaborate service for informing buyers where they can purchase cheaply, but does not tell farmers where they can sell profitably. He favors the erection of warehouses by private finance, whereas the Nonpartisan League demands State action; but he concedes that if private capital is not forthcoming, then government funds should be used. He will probably find that private capital is not interested in a project which seeks to bring producer and consumer closer, thus reducing the profit and control of the middleman.

MANY persons who read on the one hand of the closing of numerous country banks in the West because farmers were failing to repay their loans, and on the other of the refusal of farmers to sell their grain at the present low prices, are at a loss to reconcile the two sets of facts. Why do the banks not move to foreclose on the property which the farmers have given as security, they ask, and thus compel them to sell any produce for which they can get cash? There are two reasons. In the first place, prices have fallen so acutely that the grain or other property pledged as security often would not sell for enough to cover the loan. In the second place, the country banks in question are local institutions, directly dependent upon the prosperity and good-will of the community. If only one or two farmers in their region were in difficulty the banks would not hesitate at foreclosure proceedings, but to ruin any considerable number would be to ruin themselves as well. Moreover, there is at the moment a class consciousness among farmers that must be reckoned with. At an auction sale of cattle, seized recently for debt by a North Dakota bank, not one of the 1,000 farmers present would make a bid, and the bank had no alternative but to let the owner take his herd home. In eastern Montana farmers are threatening to go into bankruptcy, which would mean fatal losses to local banks.

COMMUNISTS in this country waste a lot of time raising scanty funds with which to print their propaganda. A few months ago they laboriously printed the proceedings of the Second Congress of the Communist International. The translation was bad, the printing poor, and the paper wretched. If they had only appreciated our generous State Department! Now there comes to our desk a copy of a 166-page pamphlet, very nicely printed indeed, and on good white paper, entitled "The Second Congress of the Communist International, as reported and interpreted by the official newspapers of Soviet Russia." The State Department obligingly collects and translates these documents; the Government Printing Office attends to the typographical work; and it is sent free to all the papers. Apparently any citizen, be he Communist or Union Leaguer, can secure a copy for the asking. The Communists really waste their energy and pennies; they are too impatient; here is Uncle Sam paying out of taxation for propaganda for the distribution of which Communists have been going to jail. We do not know which to laugh at most, the Communists or the State Department.

ODS-FISH! A mere United States Senator dares stand up and attack the Grand Panjandrum and Supreme Arbiter of our national sport? In addition to occupying that pinnacle, Kenesaw Mountain Landis is a Federal judge in Chicago. That is a detail, but a detail not wholly insignificant, since it was in his capacity as Federal judge, and not as Grand Panjandrum of baseball, that Kenesaw Mountain Landis recently paroled a young bank embezzler on the ground that he was more to be pitied than jailed, the bank having proved itself the chief culprit by paying its youthful cashier only $90 a month. This pained Senator Nathaniel Barksdale Dial of South Carolina, president of the Enterprise National Bank, of the Home Trust Co., and of the People's Loan and Exchange Bank of Laurens, S. C. He threatens to have Judge Landis impeached, and insists that the action is a blanket invitation to all persons receiving $90, or less, a month, to dip into their employers' tills. To which Judge Landis, having had to look up Senator Dial in "Who's Who" before he knew whether he was an American or an Albanian legislator, responds that he has "performed the herculean task of dragging Senator Dial from what appeared to be an airtight obscurity."

JUDICIAL interpretation seems capable of refining away any right of organized labor to which a court happens to be hostile. The right to peaceful picketing, for instance, though generally established in theory, is often denied in practice by the application of other principles of law. A recent decision of Justice Strong of the Supreme Court of Queens County, New York, permanently restrains strikers from picketing or patrolling the premises of a textile factory, from following strikebreakers, or from telling them that a strike is on. The reason given for this extraordinary prohibition is that since the places of the strikers

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have been filled, no strike exists, and consequently the usual lawful accompaniments of a strike cannot be allowed. What higher courts may say to this refinement of legal reasoning we have no way of judging, but the actual effects are clear. Apparently all an employer has to do in the event of a strike is to hire a few professional strikebreakers, declare that a strike does not exist because the places of his former employees are filled, secure a court order which will prevent the union members from making converts to their ranks, and then dispense with the strikebreakers and reemploy his former workers at his own convenience and on his own terms. Peaceful persuasion of workers by ex-workers is ruled out. Such a decision might even be used as a precedent to prevent members or officials of a union from attempting to organize any non-union establishment. By such processes of judicial interpretation the legal status of unions is rapidly being reduced to zero.

BILLS that become laws are not always the most interesting bills. For instance, we have in Massachusetts an excellent proposal, introduced in the legislature by Representative George P. Webster, to penalize the use of agents provocateurs in labor organizations. The bill was an outgrowth of the exhaustive report on industrial espionage recently conducted under the direction of Dr. Richard Cabot, a valuable digest of which the *New Republic* is now printing. Under the terms of the bill a private detective who incites any person to commit an unlawful act will himself be liable to a prison sentence of from ten to twenty years, and the same penalty applies to a person who employs a detective for such purposes. On the other side of the industrial fence the open shop advocates are everywhere marshaling their legislative forces. Two bills in particular are reported by *Industry*, a mouthpiece of the employers, as ready to be introduced in the legislature of every State. One bill makes it possible to sue any "voluntary association of seven or more members," even though such an association is not incorporated. The second, framed "for the better protection of public welfare," would make illegal all strikes or lockouts by or in respect to public employees, or in violation of an agreement between a union and an employer, or in violation of an arbitration award, or without reasonable notice, or "where there is no trade dispute involving issues of direct benefit to the acting parties"—in other words, sympathetic strikes. These are interesting bills, indeed, and the fight for and against them will be more interesting still.

IN the largest city of a certain backward nation an election was held in the fall of 1919. One district, where the vote was close, was the scene of great disorder. Anarchistic rowdies rushed from polling place to polling place in large touring cars, intimidating voters and turning out lights; in some cases official watchers were thrown out of the election rooms. In view of the establishment of these facts, one of the highest judicial officials of the province ordered the ballots recounted; the recount showed the election of a candidate who had been reported defeated by the original count. The ballot boxes were then turned over to the Board of Aldermen of the city as provided by law, for a final official recount. From that day to this, no recount has been made, and the mistakenly seated candidate has held his place as representative of the people. The members of the Board give no excuse for their inaction. None of the widely circulated newspapers has paid much attention to this flat contradiction of democracy; nor has any public man or civic association protested. The nation which thus shows its contempt of representative government is not Russia or Germany, or a Central American republic, but the United States of America; the city is New York, the district is the Twentieth Aldermanic, the rightfully elected candidate is Edward Cassidy, Socialist, and the judge who ordered the recount is Supreme Court Justice Bijur. In the interest of democracy it might be advisable to effect some sort of exchange of election supervisors with Cuba, where our General Crowder is now engaged in attempting to make election results conform to the expressed public will.

AT the fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers, held at St. Paul in December, there were passed certain resolutions regarding Americanization and patriotic service which have a most un-resolution-like ring. Among the first persons to be Americanized, these resolutions very rightly insist, are native Americans, whom it is the duty of teachers to arouse from their ignorance and apathy by every possible means. As to aliens, it is absurd to think that Americanization means the "painless but complete excision from the foreigner's heart and brain of every tie that connects him by loving memories with his native land"; and as to demanding that the immigrant shall swallow the United States whole, without a single reservation, why, these teachers say, that is more than we demand of native Americans—at least during times of peace. Whatever demagogues may do, teachers have a more self-respecting task than to praise their country for qualities which it does not possess; it is their obligation to point out the national shortcomings as well as the national virtues. The best service to Americanization, the resolutions hint without quite saying it, is to work to make the country what we want to tell the immigrants it is. These are honorable, admirable words, and very pleasant to hear after the blare of stupid and violent language which has characterized the resolutions of so many public bodies for seven long years.

THE death of Barrett Wendell and of James Gibbons Huneker in the same week singularly emphasizes a clash of cultures which has been going on in the United States during the past thirty years. Professor Wendell stands as the typical epigone of the old New England tradition: he had its culture, its learning, its passion for England, its unconcern for all of America that lies south and west of the Hudson, its academic prose, its air of breed, its consciousness of class. That circle of charming provincials which during the early nineteenth century produced a new American literature had in Professor Wendell a pious historian, and his attitude toward them did much to establish their reputation. By comparison Mr. Huneker, certainly as learned as Professor Wendell, and no less trained in an old tradition, though his was the Catholic tradition of Philadelphia, seemed wild and rowdy. He studied the exotic; he turned rather than to the Continent than to England; he brought in names and tones and voices that appeared strange in the decorous galleries of the "genteel tradition." He wrote racily and capriciously, improperly when it suited his purposes, and always with a wide swing of the critical arm. He had, what Professor Wendell never had, a sense of the many-stranded complexity of modern American life. Professor Wendell was of the silver age; Mr. Huneker belonged emphatically to an age which, though it has not yet quite decided whether it will turn out iron or gold, is certainly not silver.

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Dillydallying Disarmers

OF all the issues before Congress, disarmament is the most important. And no less conservative a man than Congressman Mondell, Republican Floor Leader, has declared:

> I am tremendously earnest in regard to this matter because of the all-important fact that if an agreement is not reached for the limitation of armaments and warlike expenditures in the near future the fault will be that of America, as in former days the fault was that of Germany. The fault will be ours, because as we are the only great nation which could maintain enormous establishments on land and sea without bankruptcy, without being condemned to bear indefinitely and add to today's frightful load of national debt, it is our duty to lead the way toward relief from a present and future burden of warlike expenditure which, irksome and oppressive to us, would be unbearable to other nations. More than that, it is our duty to lead the way, because, strangely enough, we are the only great nation that since the World War has officially taken a position favorable to the increase rather than the decrease of armaments and warlike expenditures, and the one nation in which, I fear, there is a really dangerous sentiment in favor of increases rather than decreases of military establishments, a sentiment limited, it is true, as to the number of people openly avowing it, but a sentiment nevertheless deeply planted, shrewdly calculating, and very persistent.

Congress has been in session ten weeks. During those weeks it has done nothing about disarmament—except talk. Less than three weeks of life remain to it. During that time it is likely to do nothing—except talk. It can move fast enough if it wants to. The other day it put through in an hour the Winslow bill, providing for payments of $340,000,000 to the railroads in advance of any final accounting. Lacking the necessary two-thirds vote required under suspension of the rules, it took the whole matter up again *de novo* next day, and again passed it in an hour. But the disarmament story is different. Whenever Congress deals with a matter of real importance to the people, it seems to be attacked by creeping paralysis.

As first practical steps toward disarmament, two things were chiefly needed in this session: first, the drastic cutting down of our war preparations, especially naval, as evidence of good faith; second, a frank approach to other nations for a conference. What have we actually done?

The Secretaries of War and of the Navy, completely under the spell of the professional staffs surrounding them, submitted estimates for the military and naval establishments in the dizzying sum of $1,379,000,000, an amount more than five times our highest pre-war appropriations, and more than half a billion greater than the bloated sums appropriated for this year. Happily, in response to the groans of the taxpayers, the congressional committees cut the estimates almost in two, reporting to the House the sum of $727,000,000 for the two services—a monstrous waste, to be sure, but even so a saving of a full hundred millions over last year's figures. So far so good.

Political reasons combined with the economy motive to accomplish this result. The Secretary of War had recruited the army to a number 30,000 in excess of the 175,000 appropriated for last year, and was moving straight on toward the authorized maximum of 280,000. Had Congress really desired to reduce the army and save money, it could in a week have passed the necessary legislation. Instead, it made political capital of the situation for two months, and only on February 7 did it finally pass, over the President's veto, a resolution stopping recruiting until the number of men shall have fallen to 175,000. Now the House appropriated for the pay of an army of only 150,000 men, a number which cannot be reached before April, 1922. And the number of officers has actually been raised from 13,000 to 14,000. Discredit the Democratic Secretary, and show apparent economy—that pretty nearly sums it up.

The naval story is not dissimilar. We have seventeen dreadnoughts under way, ten of them in private yards, not to speak of 32 destroyers, 39 submarines, and an auxiliary. Congress wanted to discredit Mr. Daniels's propaganda for the League of Nations, but at the same time it did not want to interfere with contracts. Therefore in cutting the naval bill, it took good care not to cut out the $90,000,000 for increase of the navy, and we shall spend $145,000,000 next year on capital ships, despite the grave doubt in expert circles as to their fighting utility. To suspend construction, however, even for six months, would, as Senator Gerry feelingly observes, work "a great injustice to very large shipbuilding companies." So on with the big ships! None the less, Senator Borah's resolution inquiring about the possibility of deferring construction for six months made a good deal of a row. Admiral Sims unkindly expressed doubts about the big ships, but the eighteen-inch guns of the General Board were promptly brought into play, and the proper recommendation for going on with the capital ships, and adding two airplane carriers besides, was forthcoming from the Senate Naval Committee. The fight on this program, however, may carry the naval bill over into the next Congress.

In positive action looking to disarmament, the achievement is nil. Both Senator Borah's resolution for inviting England and Japan to join us in a five-year naval holiday and Representative Brooks's measure requesting the President to call a conference of all nations in Washington to consider disarmament have been favorably reported by the proper committees, chloroformed, and buried under a mountain of appropriation bills. Of talk there is plenty. The House Naval Committee has listened to many distinguished witnesses, all of whom favor disarmament—if, but, and although. Congress favors it, in the same way, only a good many members want to be sure that we have the biggest navy on earth before we all begin to reduce proportionately. Deep underneath there is steadily at work the silent, consistent pressure of great business interests that push us irresistibly forward on the path of imperialism, armament, and war. And a petty, well-meaning, unseeing Congress jumps when business pulls the strings.

Is there, then, no hope for a war-torn world unutterably weary of slaughter and strife? None save in a great movement of the people of the United States, who today hold the world's destiny in their hands. In their "representatives," so-called, there is no light or leading. They will act only if the popular demand is so overwhelming and so insistent that they dare not disregard it. That demand ought to be rolling in to Washington today in tones of thunder from every city and every hamlet in the land. There is no reason to wait for any other nation. Ours is the privilege and duty to make the beginning.

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Lo, the Poor Railroads!

PITY the poor railroads! They must cut wages, right away quick, tomorrow, or they will go bankrupt. General Atterbury, of the great Pennsylvania system, says so. Yet an unfeeling President refuses to bring the matter before Congress, and simply refers the beggared executives to the legally constituted tribunal, the Railroad Labor Board, and the Board says it must investigate before approving wage slashes. And that isn't all. These same lean and hungry executives, looking about, observe that if Uncle Sam would do a little borrowing he might have in his treasury $340,000,000 that they need in their business immediately. They have a perfectly good measure drawn to transfer these funds to their own coffers, and a faithless and unbelieving House fails by two miserable votes to give them the two-thirds majority necessary to jam this Winslow bill through without amendment under suspension of the rules. So it all has to be done again next day under a new rule.

Republics are ungrateful, anyway. See what the railroads have done to us—and what have we ever done for them? Pass over the land grants, the "Chapters of Erie," and other like happenings in our early railroad history, and come down to the past decade with its annoying efforts at strict regulation. Reckless and dishonest mismanagement, culminating in the plundering of rich properties like the New Haven and the Rock Island, had destroyed railroad credit. Equipment ran down, and we suffered from freight blockades and embargoes. Then came the war. In despair, the Government took over the lines.

Federal control lasted twenty-six months. During that time $1,200,000,000 was spent for improvements, $900,000,000 being furnished directly by the Government. Figuring on the basis of the best three years in railroad history, Uncle Sam guaranteed the carriers a "standard return" of $900,000,000 a year—a sum sufficient not only to pay interest and dividends, but also to leave $400,000,000 to $450,000,000 for new facilities and equipment, if we may believe Mr. Hines. During the twenty-six months the roads lacked $745,000,000 of earning that return, so the treasury made good the deficit. The total of government loans and gifts for the period came to $1,886,332,885, according to the final report of Director General Hines. Meanwhile the country was flooded with richly financed propaganda for the return of the roads to private ownership. (Mendacity, by the way, has not gone out of fashion even yet. A current Western time-table compares the cost of travel in the United States and "in other countries which suffered from the same [!] war conditions." As an example: Denver to Chicago, 1,034 miles, $40.26; Paris to Naples, 1,046 miles, $75.41. Foreign fares are given first class, computed at normal rates of exchange. Add Pullman charges to American rates, as must be done in any fair comparison, and compute the franc at its actual dollar value, and the figures stand thus: Denver-Chicago, $52.01; Paris-Naples, $28.00.)

To resume, on March first last the roads went back to their owners under the Esch-Cummins law. That measure gave them a revolving loan fund of $300,000,000, and continued the standard return up to September first. During these six months (while their application for higher rates was pending) the roads managed to pile up a deficit of $600,000,000—almost as much as during twenty-six months of Federal control. On the basis of this showing they got their rate advance. The Esch-Cummins law required the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix rates that would yield six per cent on the aggregate value of railroad property. Allowing the astonishing valuation of $18,900,000,000 (95 per cent of what the roads claimed), the Commission granted a rate increase estimated to yield some $1,600,000,000. The managers rubbed their hands in glee. Now, let who will add up these figures and discover that Uncle Sam during the past three years has presented the railroads three billion dollars in cash or credit, and has given them besides an added taxing power of a billion and a half a year. The railroad statisticians will prove him a dangerous agitator.

Less than three months after they got their roads back, the executives came scampering to the Interstate Commerce Commission once more, beseeching that body to help them break the freight jam in which they had involved themselves (having begun the old selfish scramble the minute the roads were returned). The thoughtful man with a passable memory will easily recall the paean of praise which the executives raised to themselves some weeks since over "their" achievements since the return of the roads. He might consider the following statement from the *Railway Age:*

> The railways fought and won in 1920 the hardest and most important battle of their lives. They succeeded in getting themselves returned to private operation under unprecedentedly favorable legislation. They secured almost all the advances in rates for which they asked. They began breaking all records for volume of business moved just when their critics commenced to proclaim they were "breaking down."

Having digested this, he might study the following, from another railroad source:

> With operating revenues more than double those of any year prior to 1916, the gross earnings of the railways of the United States as a whole in 1920 were insufficient to cover operating expenses, rents of equipment and facilities and taxes. Nothing was left for interest or dividends.

This looks disagreeable, for it is agreed that the public can't be bled for further rate increases. What then? Ah, a long-forgotten device—cut expenses. Mr. Slason Thompson, in the *Railway Review* of January 22, obligingly shows how: The roads must save $1,250,000,000, and "two-thirds of this saving must come out of the pay-roll." The detail is simplicity itself. The Adamson law added $300,000,000 to the pay roll; repeal the Adamson law. The Railroad Labor Board added $635,000,000 to wages in 1920; "the board should review and reverse its award rendered to prevent a strike." And then?

> With these two sops to Cerberus out of the way, coupled with the restoration of piece work, a modification of the seniority rule to make way for merit, the abolition of standardization of pay under different conditions, and the severing of slacks from soft jobs, there need be no immediate reduction in the wage scale.

How comforting!

The eyes of railroad executives today are glued to profits and financial guarantees. The Esch-Cummins law gave them everything they asked, and its administration has given them more than they dreamed. After a record year's operation under this, their own measure, they declare themselves faced with bankruptcy, and they start in to discharge employees and slash wages as the only means to keep up profits. Will they get away with it?

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Bad Debts or Bad Blood

ALL these discussions of Germany's total debt, all the palaver between Briand and Lloyd George and their train of experts at Paris, and all the coming palaver between the same Prime Ministers and experts and Herr Bergmann and his experts from Germany, have an unreal air of tentativeness and futility. The papers may announce once more—for the thirteenth time at least—that a final settlement has been made, but the settlement will not be final until the United States takes a hand in it. And by taking a hand in it we mean no mere ratification of a treaty which is already in process of decomposition, but a share of financial responsibility. The fact of the matter is that it is impossible to divorce the question of reparations from the question of inter-Allied debts.

For there are two basic truths which are often forgotten in discussion of reparations. One is that Germany cannot pay enough to recompense France for the devastation wrought in her northern provinces (even Briand's Paris program contemplates less than the total damage which the Reparation Commission is charging against Germany); and the other is that unless France is recompensed for that devastation, France can never repay her debts to the United States and to Great Britain. Hence until some definite arrangement regarding those debts is made, no permanent arrangement regarding reparations will be made.

It is the current fashion to say that Congress and the American people are opposed to cancelation of those debts. They are. But Congress and the American people, if they were consulted, would be as opposed to "funding"—which means passing—interest on those debts. Yet the interest is being funded, simply because the European nations cannot pay the interest. And it will continue to be funded. The debts are bad debts. The American people may be very angry about it, but it might just as well adjust itself to the fact. And it would do well to direct its anger against the statesmen who led it into making "loans" which were sure to become gifts, rather than against the bankrupt European nations. The American people was deceived about these "loans" just as it was hoodwinked about a hundred other matters during the war. It is still being hoodwinked. The recent "sales" of War Department goods to Poland on long term credit were in reality gifts; some day the Man-in-the-Street will wake up to the fact and curse Poland for it, when he should curse the Secretary of War.

So the question of remission of debts will come up again as it is coming up now, and some time the debts will be remitted. Secretary of the Treasury Houston says that Great Britain has repeatedly suggested a general cancelation of debts, Great Britain canceling the Continental debts owing to her, and we canceling the loans made by our Government to all our European allies, totaling nearly ten billion dollars. France, if not officially then unofficially, has made similar suggestions. They have repeatedly been made in the semi-official French press. M. Ribot, former Minister of Finance, even suggested that the total Allied war costs be distributed among the Allies in proportion to their resources and in inverse proportion to the number of men lost—a proposal which obviously would cost us far more than cancelation even of a ten billion dollar debt. Such suggestions have hitherto been cold-shouldered by American officials. Frenchmen have not relished this persistent cold-shouldering, and the feeling is very general in France that the United States has come out of the war unscathed and is less than generous to its former ally. If we should ever call our debts, the action would rouse very bad blood indeed. But by letting them slide, "funding" the interest indefinitely, we in reality promote that uncertainty and suspense which has so agonized Europe these many months, and for which we in America have held France largely responsible.

Yet to cancel the debts offhand would be to shirk responsibility. It would be another futile gesture of generosity such as was our unconditional entry into the war. Cancelation might merely give British military imperialism a free hand in Ireland, India, and Mesopotamia, and encourage French expansion in Syria and aggressive action against Germany. The difficult problem which America must face is to avoid the bad blood which insistence upon payment would involve, and to utilize the possibility of cancelation as a lever for an economically reasonable policy toward Germany and for generosity within the British Empire. Just as reparations cannot be settled apart from the question of these debts, so the debts must not be settled without effective consideration of their influence upon reparations. The opposition to cancelation in America cannot be overcome so long as the rather inarticulate feeling that Europe has misused—and will continue to misuse—our money, continues. The moods of the two continents interact; America's aloof disinterestedness aggravates France's sense of isolation in an impossible task and her resultant bitterness; and Europe's harshness aggravates America's unwillingness to embark upon a policy of generosity. But if our diplomacy can rise to the need, it may make these debts, now only a source of irritation, the foundation-stone of real peace in western Europe.

Wilson's Legacy to Harding

PRESIDENT WILSON'S legacy to Mr. Harding will be one of debts rather than assets. With the single exception of Lincoln, probably no President in our national history has taken office with as pressing a burden of unsolved questions as will fall to the lot of our next Executive. In saying this we are ignoring domestic issues entirely. Grave as they are, Mr. Harding will not be directly responsible for the solution of many of them. By our Constitution and our historic policy, that duty, in most instances, rests primarily upon Congress. Since Roosevelt's time, it is true, our Presidents have taken an increasing part in initiating domestic legislation; but Mr. Harding has given unmistakable notice of his intention to return to our former method.

In foreign affairs, however, the President is directly responsible for initiating American policy, and here Mr. Harding will be the inheritor of a bankrupt estate. Eight years ago, as he slipped out of office, Mr. Taft left the Mexican problem, then a new-born infant, on the White House doorstep. President Wilson has been dandling the infant upon his knee ever since without stopping its cries, and is now passing it on to Mr. Harding. If the foundling is now better off—and indications are that it is—the change is due to its own patience and good sense rather than to the care it has received. In addition to the Mexican problem, moreover, President Wilson has accumulated enough other waifs from various parts of the world to establish an international

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orphan asylum. There is the issue with Japan over immigration and the island of Yap, our relations with Russia, our disgraceful occupation of Haiti and Santo Domingo, the unwarranted presence of American Marines in Nicaragua (which, indeed, goes back to President Taft's day), friction with Panama, the old unsettled dispute with Colombia over the rape of her territories, tension in Cuba, a dispute with Great Britain over oil rights in Mesopotamia, and, last but not least, our attitude toward European reconstruction.

Now, all this seems like an overwhelming task for our next President. But much of it becomes simple—if undertaken in the right way. In our foreign relations, the best way is superlatively the easiest. Our troubles are almost wholly due to subserviency to financial interests and, since our entrance into the European struggle in 1917, gradual submersion in the methods of Old World diplomacy. To regain our self-respect and the esteem of other nations, Mr. Harding has only to return to two once generally accepted principles of international polity:

1. A nation has no official concern with the morals or politics of any other state, and need assure itself only of the existence of a *de facto* Government in order to recognize and treat with it.

2. A citizen of one nation who lives in, or does business in, any other state has a right to the same protection under its laws as is enjoyed by natives or by citizens of other nations; but he has no extra rights because of the superior power or the greater privileges that he enjoys at home.

Most of our international complications nowadays are due to the mischievous doctrine commonly credited to Lord Palmerston that nationals of a strong state have what amount to extraterritorial rights in a weaker one. This leads to unwarranted interference. It is *not* the duty of America to guarantee the lives of its citizens abroad (it does not do so even at home), but only to see that they are as well protected as others; it is *not* the duty of America to underwrite the investments of its business men in foreign lands, but only to see that there is no discrimination against them.

A majority of our foreign problems become simple if these principles are applied. They call for—and nothing is simpler—the immediate recognition of Russia and Mexico. (We cannot even insist upon equal protection of American property interests in Mexico when we discriminate against Japanese in California.) They call for the immediate withdrawal of our Marines from Nicaragua and, as soon as native governments can take charge, which need not be long, from Haiti and Santo Domingo. Nothing, in fact, could better safeguard our citizens in all of Latin America than such a gesture. A speedy peace with Germany should be made. That does not mean that we have no further responsibilities in Europe, but the greatest thing we can do for that continent, stricken with poverty and hate, is that this, the strongest and richest nation on earth, should by its own disarmament prove its belief in peace and good will. This last action will, we think, hasten the settlement of such foreign complications as cannot be resolved by the two principles already alluded to. It will make possible the open diplomacy preached but not practiced by President Wilson; it will eliminate the need for the various secret "agreements," gentlemanly or ungentlemanly, by which the Senate's lawful right to participate in foreign affairs by the ratification of "treaties" has been taken from it. Mr. Harding has the opportunity to initiate a diplomacy as new as sunrise and as old as the moral law; as magnificent as it is simple. Will he?

The Fallacy of Technique

A CERTAIN not undistinguished critic is fond of proclaiming what he calls his "technical-mindedness." He has studied innumerable novels and stories and plays and analyzed the exact methods by which in each case the writer has manipulated his material and rearranged it into striking and effective shapes. Our friend's favorite dramatist is Pinero, and he has persuaded a great many people to regard that writer's theatrical dexterity as dramatic art. It is a similar theory that underlies the courses of instruction so widely given in the composition of plays and stories. Everywhere the notion obtains that effectiveness is the aim of art and technique a more or less well-defined system of methods by which such effectiveness may be attained.

This stubborn and fundamental error finds its counterpart in life. Respectable persons who have never reflected closely or suffered very keenly tell their troubled or perplexed or aspiring neighbors to "play the game" or to be "sports." They have in their minds definite notions of what effects a normal human life ought to produce in them and of the precise aspect it should wear. And to play according to the rules of the game, to take mortal events in a sporting mood, means to them the perfectly rigid technique by which their own lives are governed. They frown upon beautiful and spontaneous actions which expand or subtilize the possibilities of human experience and fear them as an elderly card-player fears innovations in his game.

But just as the preciousness of a human experience lies, subjectively, in the sense of its exquisite strangeness and uniqueness and in the added grace and wealth it lends the inner life, so its objective value for mankind, when it is made manifest by an artistic communication, depends on the inviolateness of the original character by virtue of which it introduced an unheard melody into the music of the soul. Neither life nor art is interesting or beautiful if, like games, they proceed according to fixed rules to a few poor, foreknown ends. The analogy is popular because it puts a premium on safety and sloth. Any man can play at a game. It takes genius or moral courage to break the rules and transcend the game. To be "technical-minded" in life is to play safe. Though you achieve no triumph, you court no disaster and a decent legend will gild your headstone.

The case of the "technical-minded" writer is an equally comfortable one. He needs no new or immediate experience. Nor would one help him if he came upon it. For since he would not broodingly await the form destined to project its special pang and thrill and significance, he is as well served by a blunted general emotion, a stereotyped gesture, and a common act. He can weave these into a technical pattern and produce on the stage or in the pages of a magazine an effect that will briefly please those to whom art is a little higher than bridge, a little lower than base-ball. But art is not so produced. The artist is one to whom all experience is revelation. His moments have depths within depths; the unique and incommunicable throng his days. In long vigils, in late bloom or tranquillity, remembered experience builds within his mind the symbols that alone can express it. To distort or rearrange experience for the sake of an external effectiveness is to him the very negation of the creative act. Liberation can obey no law but an inherent one and expression must create the rules by which it works.

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The Challenge of Waste to Existing Industrial Creeds

By STUART CHASE

THE wastes of the present industrial order have long been subject to attack, but the definition of what constitutes waste has been somewhat neglected. Before criticism is in order, a standard must be set whereby current performance can be judged. There is no evil until good is first defined. People tend to think of economic waste—when they think of it at all—in three categories: garbage cans, Taylor systems, or as a whole industrial synthesis. Much attention has been directed to the first two, but relatively little to the last, and it is the last which chiefly concerns us here.

Perhaps to most minds the word "waste" connotes the first category. They think of waste paper, refuse, sewage, odds and ends generally. They think of the late patriotic exertions of fellow townsmen beseeching them to win the war by baling their Sunday newspapers, or by saving their peach stones. The Department of Commerce instituted a waste reclamation service to promote just this sort of thing. To junk men it must have seemed that the millennium had come. And, of course, waste of this nature is a real economic problem. There are many interesting methods abroad, technical and otherwise, for turning refuse normally thrown away into valuable products. Thus, for instance, a process has just been perfected for converting sawdust into the basis of a nutritious food for cattle. But when all is said and done, this type of waste is only a drop in the bucket from the standpoint of a synthetic view of the whole industrial system.

Many people—particularly business men—think of waste as synonymous with inefficiency, connoting in turn all the elaborate hue and cry of the past ten years in pursuit of the goddess Efficiency. How many countless youths have bowed on their knees, their correspondence school books in their arms, before this deity! Pep, efficiency, success—the holy trinity. But efficiency after all is at heart only another method for increasing profit under the price system. It deals with means, not ends. It provides methods, and often very sound methods, for reducing costs, increasing output, and getting to windward of one's competitors. It is to be doubted if business men would be interested in a universal installation of efficiency methods resulting in lowering industrial costs, but in unchanged profit levels. No particular business man would gain thereby, because the bulk line producer (who tends to set the price), maintaining an efficiency system equally with the lowest cost producer, would be in precisely the same relative position as before the transformation began. The reorganization, the education, the staff upheaval which always accompany the installation of efficiency methods would hardly be undertaken unless there were definite hope of increased individual profit.

The cult of efficiency, therefore, cannot be termed a direct assault upon the problem of waste. It is a flank attack carried on mainly for private advantage, though revealing at the same time certain new processes and methods of great social value. Mr. Taylor's approach in cutting under the immemorable craft practices in bricklaying and carpentry was as significant as it was refreshing. Mr. Hoover now proposes through an association of engineers to extend this aspect of industrial waste, particularly in respect to the efficiency of labor. All this is well and good so far as it goes. But not in slack habits of workmanship, or in poor office lighting, or in lack of window envelopes, is the heart of the problem of waste to be found, any more than in the garbage pail. An efficiency system can be introduced into a laboratory which is manufacturing poison gas—or Tono-Bungay. A sound theory of waste would refuse to recognize the necessity of making poison gas or patent medicines at all.

No, the problem of waste must be approached with fresh eyes which see the economic process as a whole, which see particularly the physical stuff of things under the metaphysics of money and credit and price. Hudson Maxim says in his book, "Defenseless America," page 228:

> The nation as a whole is not impoverished in the least by the burden of armaments, but is rather benefited by their support; the fact that a war indemnity takes gold out of the country and gives it to another people, makes the indemnity a national calamity. But when money is spent within the country as it is for armaments, the condition is entirely different. The money spent by the Government in building fighting ships could not be esteemed so much money lost, even if the ships are useless. The Government taxes the people for the money to build the ships, and then pays the money back to the people again for the ships. It may be argued that the labor of the people is lost, but what of it? Labor is neither money nor wealth, it merely represents time. The result is that the fighting ships have cost nothing. On the contrary, everybody is made better and richer through the building of them.

Here is a mind debauched and undone by its failure to look under the shadow of money. The student of waste must lose himself in no such fog.

Given a population, given its basic needs and wants, given the deposits of natural resources from which such needs may be supplied, given an industrial mechanism of production and distribution whereby natural resources may be turned into human requirements, given existing scientific knowledge, and all the factors are at hand to develop a standard for a coordinated industrial system which can really measure the problem of waste. Budget the basic wants;* ascertain the raw materials available; survey the industrial plant in the light of the present status of the technical arts, and calculate what it means in human effort to get these basic wants out of the earth and into people's lives with a minimum of effort and friction. Such a standard, it goes without saying, is based flatly on the assumption that an economic process has no justification other than that of supplying the things which mankind needs; that the only end of human work is to produce the groundwork for a rich and happy human life.

If now we swing the searchlight of this standard upon the industrial system as it operates today, and attempt to measure the gap between the performance of a system operated to such a standard and the performance of the current system, a fundamental conception of waste emerges. Industrial waste is the difference between a system planned

* An interesting method of budgeting basic wants is to take the requirements of a family of five—(say the Ogburn budget)—given in physical terms of pounds of flour, suits of clothing, house space, etc.; and translate the items back into raw materials needed for the whole population—wheat, live cattle, lumber, coal.

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and designed to furnish mankind with what it genuinely needs, and a system such as the ruling one which operates at the call of profit only, in which the supplying of needs is only a by-product and which is not planned and designed at all.

From this standpoint, waste appears in all its immensity, far outshadowing the nibblings at the garbage pail and efficiency devices. It is nothing less than the measurement of how far society has failed to apply its own proven knowledge to the satisfaction of its wants. A high standard, perhaps, but it is doubtful if anything less will do. It is not utopian because it does not count upon inventions and processes which lie in the womb of the future, but only upon those inventions and processes already made and proven. It shows what mankind might do if it took hold of its own slatternly house. As scientific research unfolds in the future, the standard must perforce march with it. But today the standard for the measurement of industrial waste can only be set par with the proven knowledge of today.

To compute the industrial potentialities of such a standard is a long, arduous, and many-sided task. But one is inclined to believe that a body of engineers and statisticians, at once specialists in their own fields, and synthetic in their social outlook, could do the job sufficiently well to provide a rough yardstick which might be clapped down upon the present industrial order (or disorder) for the purpose of exhibiting the more outstanding wastes therein. One cannot help but feel that the findings of such a court of inquiry would constitute perhaps the most important set of facts which ever challenged the intelligence of men.

Industrial waste as thus outlined cannot be measured in terms of money. Money comprehends too many wasteful values in itself to begin with—a dollar will buy equally ten loaves of bread or a dose of opium. Again, money fluctuates in terms of commodities too uncertainly to form a reliable unit. And lastly, an aggregate of waste in such enormous proportions shown in money terms would be largely meaningless; it would give no grip or understanding of the physical realities of the situation.

Two real things are wasted, and between them they may produce a third: (1) Labor of hand and brain, (2) materials, and (3) power. The quantitative measurement of waste to have permanent meaning must be given in units of man hours, weights and volumes of raw materials, horsepower hours, and the physical measurement of "plant" which in turn has been created originally by labor and materials.

Let us go a little more concretely into the problem. Suppose we consider the United States, its people and its industries in the light of this standard. Suppose we take an airplane and go up very high and look at this broad country, its resources, its population, and the things which people are doing. Here are, according to the last census, 106 millions of men, women, and children. They are all consumers. They all want goods and services. Perhaps thirty million men, ten million women, and three million children are working, or trying to get a chance to work, for wages and salaries which in turn they exchange for goods and services. They are called producers, but in the case of many millions of them the term is ironic. Another eighteen million women are working hard and all the time in homes. The remainder of the population, about forty-five millions, is made up of dependents, children, old people, and defective people, including the idle rich.

We see a country rich in natural resources. It has the farm lands, the grazing lands, the forests, the water power, the coal, oil, iron, copper, lead, the fisheries, to provide raw material for nearly every product which the population needs. Certain resources, notably the forests and the oil, are in sight of exhaustion under present extractive methods, but immense deposits still remain.

We note the "plant" for turning natural resources into consumable goods. It consists of improved farm lands, barns, harvesting machinery, mines and wells, transportation systems, factories and mills, warehouses, stores, delivery systems, office buildings. This plant has been developed almost entirely by the isolated initiative of certain individuals. Authority to determine what shall be built and where has lain in private hands. Portions of the plant are surprisingly good and surprisingly well built, but the totality we note is chaotic, as one would expect of a thing which had never been planned. Chaotic and clumsy. Plants jammed into cities, plants located thousands of miles from sources of raw material, plants duplicated and ill designed. As for distribution, one glance at South Market Street, Chicago, convinces us that we are looking at Bedlam on a hectic day. It is a clotted sprawling plant, rather like a nursery floor just before the children are told to pick up their toys and go to supper.

Here are the people mightily concerned with this plant. They swarm in and out of it. They make motions with their hands and legs; they sit hunched over decks; they pull levers and raise whips and axes; they shout signals and ring bells and push pieces of paper over counters; they throw white hot rivets into the air, and burrow deep into the earth.

As a result, a great stream of materials pours from its immemorial stability in the earth through furnaces, pipes, tanks, silos; through grinding machines and cutting machines and threshing machines; through spindles and rollers and hammers; through storehouses and warehouses and terminals; and at last over railways and waterways and highroads into shops and stores, and thus into the lives of 106 millions of people. But we note that it is a captious stream, partly because of the poor adaptability of the plant to handle it; partly because it is given to unaccountable fits and starts. It slows down here, and it slows down there, and it piles up in storage somewhere else. Sluice gates may open and it will be dumped in great quantities, while people go shivering and hungry for want of it. Or it may flow in steamships overseas with no useful equivalent coming back. Untold quantities go from east to west, and back from west to east for no other purpose apparently than to give an already overworked transportation system something more to do. And we note that the stream has a persistent habit of surfeiting some people and starving others.

Finally here is the accredited scientific knowledge of mankind. Here in books and charts, and in men's minds, are ways of doing things—the best ways yet invented. Here are technicians and engineers and workmen who know how a forest ought to be cut so that the area never diminishes to the danger point; how power ought to be husbanded and utilized with a minimum of effort per horsepower; how farms should be cultivated and fertilizers employed; how coal ought to be won, oil wells drilled, transportation systems laid out, cars loaded, public health maintained, schools equipped, the city organization of foodstuffs organ-

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ized. There are men who know a better way of delivering milk than employing fourteen half-loaded wagons to a block. These technicians are not omnipotent. They have much to learn. Invention and improvement of processes must go steadily on. They only know the best way discovered to date. And it is when the best way discovered to date is compared with the existing flow of material through plant that the gigantic extent of industrial waste comes to light.

Wastes in the technical process of production and distribution are, however, only part of the story. Fully as important is the non-utility of the thing produced. This stream of goods and services which flows through plant and out into people's lives is badly in need of analysis from the standpoint of the wants of man. Which is, of course, dangerous ground. What do these 106 million people want? Gods and devils, and earths and heavens! Can one throw a noose around human wants and yoke them to the statistician's plow? No. But one can classify wants on the basis of past consumption and make some estimates of basic requirements. And many wants lie outside the field of economics altogether so that they can be disregarded in this thesis—love, for instance, and the beauty of nature, and flirting with the spirit worlds (though a ouija board takes labor and materials). There appear to be certain fundamental wants of man which require economic effort for their satisfaction and which appear in practically every normal individual. They can be grouped into eight main categories: (1) Wholesome food; (2) adequate housing; (3) adequate clothing; (4) education, including books, news, lectures, etc.; (5) recreation and play; (6) public health facilities; (7) religion, including churches, services of pastors, etc.; (8) art, including music, painting, literature, the theater.

A theory of waste cannot presume to define the quantities and qualities of each of these fundamental wants without becoming absurd. It can insist, however, that production should be confined to providing these things in some sort of relative balance, free from adulteration and degradation.

Let us look with some care at the stream of goods and services which fluctuate below us. It is a vast miscellany—onions and window frames and suspenders, dreadnoughts, Peruna, gimlets, rattles, striped pajamas, Sunday newspapers, snow shoes, electric lights, Billy Sunday sermons, bus rides, Rolls-Royces, golf balls, Tudor houses, undershirts, and india rubber boots. If the Eight Wants be allowed as a standard, they cleave into this assortment like a plow through red earth. On the one side they throw the kind of goods and services which people really need and want, and on the other the ills and disservices which it is to be doubted if anybody truly wants. But in between caught in the plow's bow are, of course, a lot of things which are indeterminable and cannot be classified as waste production out of hand—beers and light wines or tobacco, for instance.

Perhaps we can classify as waste ("illth," as Ruskin called it) production of this general nature: Luxuries—over a standard of reasonable comfort; patent medicines; armaments; adulterated products; distilled liquors; opiates; prostitution; most newspapers; much advertising; the services of quacks, astrologers, mediums; the services of most middlemen; the business of gambling and speculation, etc.

We note that the flow of consumable material, haphazard as it is, carries an enormous amount of such output—things which people do not want or could give up over night and be the freer and happier for so doing. How many wants are created and maintained by advertising alone? How many on the basis of "keeping up with the Joneses"? The percentage which this material bears to the total output will be exceedingly difficult to calculate, but it undoubtedly involves the diverting of the labor power of millions of workers and the destruction of millions of tons of good raw material each year.

Lastly, we note the great number of idle or partially idle men and women of producing age. Here are the unemployed, a great army varying from one to five millions, and always present in the social organism. The uncertainties of industrial life have made many of them at last unemployable. Here are the idle rich, particularly the parasitic women of the rich. They take greedily from the stream and give nothing. Here are strikers and locked-out workers, accountable for untold millions of wasted labor hours. Here are workers striking on the job.

Such is the broad picture of the industrial life of America which goes on underneath the shadow of money and price.

Our engineers then in their survey would strive to classify human wants so far as the great basic necessities were concerned, and from the standpoint of such classification to rule out as waste and loss all industrial activity concerned with the production of goods and services lying clearly outside the category. They would not tolerate the production of most patent medicines, adulterated goods, war material, but would lump the whole misbegotten mass into one great item of waste, and measure it in labor hours and materials literally thrown away.

With this cleared, they would proceed to an analysis of the technical methods of production and distribution employed in the remaining industries. Their standard of criticism would be in each case the best technical process discovered to date, but implicit in the calculation would be a full recognition of the cost of reconstruction. (Many new and better methods are for the time being prohibited because of the great amount of unproductive labor and material necessary to instal them.) The failure of modern industry to adopt approved technical methods would thus form the next great category of waste.

Finally the extent of unemployment, sabotage employment, and out and out idleness among the population would constitute the third great item of waste. The theory of waste can only operate on the assumption that apart from genuine dependents, those who eat must work.

The thesis so far developed has considered waste only as an impersonal quantity. In conclusion it is necessary to note the effect of industrial waste on human life. Because an insufficient amount of necessary goods and services are produced under prevailing industrial methods men suffer. This suffering is the factor of human waste. Human waste is the result of industrial waste, but in that diminished vitality breeds diminished labor power, a vicious circle is set up in which industrial wastes create human wastes, and human wastes in turn augment industrial wastes. The more outstanding of human wastes are: Malnutrition; overcrowding; inadequate clothing; industrial accidents and diseases; infant mortality and high mortality rates in general; illiteracy and under-education; crime and prostitution (in part); alcoholism and use of drugs (in part); deadening of the creative instinct.

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Our engineers must add a fourth category to their computations—the measurement of human waste—the price society pays for not applying its accredited knowledge to industrial affairs. Such measurement may often defy quantitative statement—it is compounded of blood and tears and agony—but the amount of poverty and preventable misery can be statistically surveyed to a certain extent.

If society made the things it genuinely needed according to the best available technical methods of production and distribution, there would result an industrially wasteless society. Such a social group may never completely eventuate, but it constitutes the standing challenge to the intelligence of mankind. It is more than time that the challenge be taken up to the point at least of compiling a rough engineering draft of a wasteless society, and of estimating the vast increase in well-being which would accrue if society had the common sense to plan for its own provisioning.

Such a draft is not capitalism, socialism, nor any other ism. Its philosophy cuts sharply across all doctrines of opinion and concerns itself only with the facts. It is inevitable unless society is willing to proceed to its own destruction with its national, class, race, group conflicts (from war down to "legitimate" business competition), all internecine as far as humanity is concerned, and in themselves the apotheosis of waste.

The French in Syria

By PAXTON HIBBEN

IN London on February 21 a conference of the same Premiers who were so determined a short time ago to compel the fullest enforcement of the Treaty of Versailles will meet to adapt the Treaty of Sèvres to the wishes of the late enemy. A barrage of publicity matter from Paris and to a lesser extent London has already begun to prepare the mind of the public at large for a radical shifting of Entente policy in the Near East. To the average man it is not clear that the Entente policy in the Near East has already shifted. By the time the conference meets, the press will have been so filled with conflicting accounts of the situation in the former Ottoman Empire that whatever is done will be received by a confused public as better than further talk about a matter which no one understands anyhow. For this reason if for no other it may be well to glance back at events in the Near East during the past twenty-eight months to get as clear a view as may be of the French Levantine policy, at least.

For it is France who leads in the movement to revise the Sèvres Treaty downward, and it has been French censorship which has kept the details of what has been going on in the Near East from the world at large while the French press has supplied the foreign correspondents, writing from Paris, not Beirut, with alleged news in support of France's position. Neither the Syrians nor the Armenians have any propaganda to supply the world's newspapers with their side of the story. The Greek propaganda agency was a personal machinery built up by ex-Premier Venizelos for his own use, which continues to function for Venizelos as a private citizen, with the purpose of effecting his return to power in Greece; it has no interest in presenting Greece's story. The facts, therefore, are not easy to obtain. So far as they may be ascertained, with reasonable certainty, they are these:

A week after the armistice with Turkey was signed on October 30, 1918, the French and British Governments defined their intentions toward their Arabian, Syrian, and Armenian allies, whose loyal cooperation had enabled General Allenby to sweep the Arabian peninsula clear of Turks. In part the statement read:

> The aim which France and Great Britain have in view . . . is to insure the complete and final emancipation of all those peoples, so long oppressed by Turks, and to establish national governments and administrations which shall derive their authority from the initiative and free will of the peoples themselves.

Not one jot of this unequivocal pledge has been kept. Practically, no less than diplomatically, the course which has been followed by both British and French toward their allies in the Arabian peninsula has been that laid down in the secret Sykes-Picot agreement of May, 1916, dividing the whole of Arabia and Syria between the two contracting Powers as spoils of war, and entered into seven months after specific pledges had been given the Arabian peoples that their active aid in the war would be compensated by a recognition of their independence.

On the basis of these pledges, Syrian, Arabian, and Armenian aid was unstintedly given French and British military operations in Mesopotamia and Palestine. As a result, a disastrous campaign was turned into a victorious one. But no sooner had the conquest of Arabia and Syria been completed and the final defeat of Turkey compassed than the French began to clamor for their share of the spoils under the Sykes-Picot agreement. Before even a treaty with Turkey had been negotiated, or the administration of General Allenby in the territory held by the troops under his command installed, a propaganda was opened by the French for the surrender of Syria and Cilicia to them. Determined to have Syria as a field of exploitation and not by a trusteeship looking to the ultimate self-government of the Syrians, the French opposed the whole principle of mandates as applied to "communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire." So sharp was French opposition during the peace conference to anything less than possession of Syria as a colony that President Wilson sent the King-Crane Commission to the Levant to investigate the wishes of the local inhabitants.

Its findings, never made public, were that the inhabitants of Syria preferred independence; that if they could not have independence, they preferred an American mandate, and if that were impossible, a British mandate. Save the Maronites and a very limited population in the vicinity of Lebanon, where the French missions had been at work, no one in Syria favored a French mandate.

But "the initiative and free will of the peoples themselves" were not mentioned in the Sykes-Picot agreement. In May, 1916, there was almost as little talk of such matters in European circles as there is today. The French stood upon the letter of that agreement, and by September 15, 1919, the British had acceded to their demands and yielded control of Syria and Cilicia to a French military administration under General Gouraud, with the exception of the provinces of Damascus and Aleppo, which, by the Sykes-Picot agreement,

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itself, were to be independent under an Arab government.

In assuming control of Syria the French had one of two courses to pursue: they could carry out the pledge of September 18, 1918, and favor the development of the local populations to a point where stable self-government would result and independence one day be possible, and by doing so enlist Syrians and Armenians alike in the defense of the country against any Turkish effort at reconquest; or they could ignore the pledge they had made the local inhabitants and regard the country as conquered territory, which they had not even the prestige of having conquered, themselves. In the latter event, they could count, of course, on the hostility of both Armenians and Syrians in addition to the active hostility of the Turks, determined if possible to reassert their dominion if not over Arabia over at least the immensely rich Cilician plain.

At their initial appearance in Cilicia the French inclined to follow the first course. While elsewhere out of fear and jealousy of the British the French had favored the Turkish Nationalists, in Cilicia they suddenly found themselves face to face with these same Turkish Nationalists as an hostile force. With only the very minor military detachments, largely Mussulman, which the French had sent to occupy Cilicia to oppose the Nationalists, General Hamelin in December, 1918, had undertaken to augment his meager forces with Armenian and even Kurdish volunteers. Many of the officers of the French troops which had operated with General Allenby had been Armenians, and these Armenians were now available to recruit other Armenians among the local inhabitants of Cilicia and thus to furnish the French with a very considerable non-Moslem aid to offset the frequent desertions of the Algerian Mohammedans to the ranks of their Turkish coreligionists. It seemed a sensible course to follow, and when General Gouraud arrived and took charge he encouraged it.

It is important to bear in mind that at this period—late in 1919 and early in 1920—the conference of San Remo, which assigned the mandates under the Treaty of Versailles, had not been held. Much less had the Treaty of Sèvres been accepted by the Turks, or the two secret protocols signed simultaneously with the Sèvres Treaty carved Turkey up into zones of influence and zones of exploitation. The French were in Syria and Cilicia ostensibly as a measure of military enforcement of the armistice of October 30, 1918. When, therefore, on January 21, 1920, the Turkish Nationalists began active operations against the city of Marash, held by the French with Senegalese and Armenian troops, it was a contingency which the French might have foreseen and should have been prepared to meet. They were not. After eighteen days of resistance they evacuated the city and left the Armenians to the mercy of the Turks. Sixteen thousand of these were killed or died on the march out to Islahie.*

To the Armenians, Marash was the first disillusionment. That the French should have used them, encouraged them to enlist and fight their secular enemies, and finally when hard pressed should have left them without compunction while they saved themselves, was incredible. They had yet to learn the stern necessities of war and of politics.

At Urfa, the same history was repeated on a smaller scale, beginning the very day that the French fled from Marash. On March 19, the Turkish Nationalists ordered the French in Aintab, 60 odd miles north of Aleppo, to quit the city or suffer the same fate as at Marash. On March 29 the Nationalists took the town of Hadjin, northwest of Marash, under a siege which ended only last October with its sack by the Turks and the massacre of 11,000 Armenians. On March 26 Adana, the chief city of Cilicia, on the Bagdad railway and only 12 miles from the coast whence the French force could be readily supplied or reinforced, was besieged. Eleven Armenian towns in the vicinity of Adana were attacked. Harounieh and Eybez were completely destroyed; Yenidje was captured and the railway linking Adana with the coast taken by the Turks and cut, isolating the French and the Armenian refugees and indigenous population of the city. The press of Europe and even of the United States was filled with display headlines announcing *massacres in Armenia spreading*.

In that part of Syria about Damascus in which, under the Sykes-Picot agreement, the Syrians themselves were to have sway, the pledge of September 18, 1918, was being taken seriously by the Syrians. On March 8, 1920, the Pan-Syrian Congress at Damascus declared the independence of Syria and the Emir Feisal was chosen king. It was all in order and in complete accord with the assurance of the French that

> Far from wishing to impose on the peoples of these regions this or that institution, they [the French and British] have no other care than to assure, by their support and spiritual aid, the normal working of such government and administration as the people themselves shall have adopted.

Neither in Cilicia, where they had been repeatedly defeated by the Turks and local tribesmen and where their garrisons were beleaguered or already prisoners of the Nationalists, nor in Syria where Feisal was proceeding on the assumption that when the French had made a promise they meant to keep it, was French prestige at this juncture very high. It was at this propitious moment that Millerand at San Remo undertook to retrieve on paper the prestige which the French had already lost in fact, by securing a French mandate over Syria, which not an hundred thousand of the almost four million inhabitants of Syria and Cilicia desired.

The decision of San Remo of course altered nothing of the facts of the situation. The French thereby were not more but less acceptable to the people over whom they aspired to rule. The solemn promise of "national governments and administrations which shall derive their authority from the initiative and free will of the people themselves" was obviously not abrogated by a secret conclave at San Remo in which "the people themselves" of Syria and Cilicia had no part. All that the San Remo conference accomplished was to furnish French politicians with a legal cloak for land grabbing of the kind of the days before the war—and probably future French historians with a justification for the repudiation of every pledge given the people of Syria and Cilicia.

Once legally given a free hand, General Gouraud lost no time in disposing forever of any nonsense about "such government and administration as the people themselves shall have adopted." On July 15, 1920, he sent King Feisal an ultimatum demanding the immediate recognition of the French mandate over Syria and quite a number of other details having no relation whatever to "the initiative and free will of the people themselves." And though Feisal accepted the terms of the ultimatum, Gouraud revealed the purely pretext character of his demands by marching upon Damascus, with an army of 60,000 men. Offering no re-

* *Congressional Record*, March 10, 1920.

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sistance, Feisal was promptly dethroned and exiled. And the French imposed a ten million francs fine on Syria after the manner of the Germans in Belgium. The mandate was already beginning to pay.

In Cilicia, however, matters were not progressing so well. One Kurd leader, Kurshid-Aga, who was given the Legion of Honor and considerable cash as a bribe to join the French, when his force of 10,000 men had been duly equipped by them, calmly attacked the French with their own arms and ammunition. General Delamotte sent out an expedition of 750 men with flags flying and bands playing and "political fund" moneys to distribute discreetly, with orders "to impress the local populations with the fact that France is a great military power." The local Kurdish guide led the expedition into an ambush of his countrymen and the entire column was destroyed, the major in command wounded, and three captains killed.

Until May the French still pursued the policy of arming the local Armenians and letting them do the fighting, they meanwhile, as at Aintab, standing aside as spectators. On May 28, however, the first indication of a change of policy became evident in an armistice of brief duration reached between French and Turks that made no provision for the safety of the local Armenian inhabitants. Terror stricken by this betrayal, thousands of Armenians from all over Cilicia began to crowd into Adana, the principal city of Cilicia, for the safety of numbers. Early in June the French evacuated Sis, and 8,000 of its Armenian inhabitants poured into Adana, where there were neither houses, food, work, or household goods. These refugees were fed by the American Near East Relief whose cargoes of flour for relief purposes the French held up in Mersine, to collect customs and port dues.

On June 16 a French battalion was captured entire only twelve miles from Adana, and the Turkish siege settled down in earnest. The principal defending force was an Armenian one of some 1,300 infantry and 80 cavalry, organized by an American Armenian serving as an officer in the French foreign legion. Its rifles and uniforms were bought by public subscription among the Armenians themselves, and their business at first was to police Adana. But Adana was still a Turkish city with a large Turkish population, and murders of Armenians were of daily occurrence. The Armenians were not permitted to open shops in the city, and to go into the fields in the suburbs in search of garden truck for food was a hazardous enterprise from which those who dared it frequently failed to return. With the Turkish Nationalists surrounding the city and Turks living within it, the defense of Adana was militarily impossible. The Armenian defense corps therefore finally expelled the Turks from the city to join their countrymen on the neighboring hills, and prepared to hold the place as an Armenian center.

On July 30 the major French force of 3,000 men cut its way out of Adana to Mersina and left the city and its Armenian population to the defense of the Armenians. There was no food. The Armenian force therefore took the offensive and in a three days' campaign drove the Turks out of the fertile plain south of the city, took the town of Karatash, and captured with it enough wheat to feed the civil population of Adana for a year and a half. When the victorious Armenians sought to bring the grain supply back to the city the French authorities seized it and sent it to Marseille, while the Armenians of Adana were forced to fall back upon American relief for a meager supply of food from day to day.

Meanwhile, in Paris the news that the Armenians had driven the Turks out of Adana was received with consternation. The Treaty of Sèvres had been signed and Adana and Cilicia north of the river Djihun had been declared a French zone of influence. If the French were to make any money out of this region, evidently it must be by being friendly with the Turks who held the greater part of it. Germany might have to pay to the last dollar, but the French do not want to sell the Germans anything. The Turks perhaps were more savage enemies of civilization than the Germans, and for a longer period; but the Turks are a market, and France needs markets. Also, the immensely rich cotton lands of the Cilician plain are what French factories require to furnish raw material. So plans were promptly laid to push France's claim to a mandate over Cilicia.

This would, of course, be difficult with the Turks hostile. Therefore hurry orders were dispatched to Gouraud to get the Turks back into Adana at once and to contrive somehow to give Cilicia the appearance of complete pacification at the hands of a benevolent French administration.

The Turks, however, would not return to Adana until the Armenian troops that had held the city since February, 1920, had been disarmed. True, the Armenians were mentioned in the Treaty of Sèvres as "Allies"—but what is a treaty between friends? So on September 10, a month after the Treaty of Sèvres and its secret annex had been signed, Lieutenant Shishmanian, the American head of the Armenian defense corps of Adana, was arrested with thirty members of the Armenian National Union. Shishmanian was taken to Beirut and sent out of the country. The members of the Armenian National Union were deported. The arms of the Armenian defense corps, which had been bought by public subscription among the Armenians, were taken from them and the corps disbanded. Four hundred and fifty of the corps, who had gone to the relief of Hadjin, were surrounded by 1,500 French and forcibly disarmed and deported. A little later Hadjin, unrelieved, was taken by the Turks and its Armenian inhabitants massacred.

And as a final little revelation of the wall of censorship behind which all of this has gone on, General Gouraud on November 13, replying to official inquiries from Washington as to the fate of the American citizen, John Shishmanian, stated that "Shishmanian is in perfect health and now in command of the Armenian volunteers in Adana." Shishmanian had been arrested by the French two months previous, deported a month before, and the Armenian volunteers of Adana had ceased to exist since September.

It is altogether likely that the French will receive the mandate for Cilicia, with some of the richest cotton land in the world, sooner or later. It is almost certain that the Treaty of Sèvres at the instance of France will be modified in favor of the Turks. It is the same old game that the French have played in the Near East since the Crusades.

General Gouraud has put it quite frankly:

> France must remain in Syria, both for political and economic reasons. The political consequences of our abandonment of the country would be disastrous. Our prestige and influence in the Levant and the Mediterranean would be doomed. The economic interests of France also compel us to remain there. When fully developed Syria and Cilicia will have an economic value that will be fully equal to that of Egypt.

And to this, ex-Premier Leygues had said of Syria and Cilicia: "France will occupy all of it, and always." Which is definite, anyhow.

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Thought Control in Japan

By JUNIUS B. WOOD

Tokio, Japan, January 8

THE *NATION* has had the rare distinction of being suppressed by the Imperial Japanese metropolitan police. Pursuit of "dangerous thoughts" is one of the duties of the national police organization. While they do not presume to have clairvoyant power to read within the close-cropped craniums of their fellow countrymen, they are extremely busy reading everything which is printed and trying to overhear everything which is spoken. According to their standards, the police are sincere, conscientious, and thorough in their work. In fact, they are so zealous that many sometimes wonder whether they do not consider it dangerous for the ordinary subject of the Emperor to have any thoughts.

Despite all this activity, any suppression of an English-language periodical in Japan is beyond the memory of the average sojourner in the country. Even the daily newspapers printed in English are allowed to publish many things which would be prohibited in the vernacular newspapers. This may be because the police do not read English as fluently as they do the angular kata-kana characters of their own language. The experience of *The Nation* supports such a theory. Again, it may be that the police have the same philosophy which was aptly expressed by Clemenceau during the war. At that time the French censor, the British censor as well, prohibited the publication of the daily German official communique in the local newspapers. However, the German communique sent out by the Nauen wireless was published in the Swiss newspapers which reached Paris within twenty-four hours. When one of the big Paris editors protested to the Premier that he was unable to print this news in his paper, though the Geneva newspaper sold on the same kiosks on the streets of Paris could be bought by anybody, Clemenceau replied: "Very true, but the few persons who buy the Geneva journal are able to think for themselves and can be trusted to decide whether what they read is true or logical."

The particular issue of *The Nation* which was suppressed probably would never have come to the attention of the omnipresent police if the particular article had not been translated into Japanese and published by one of the Tokio newspapers. It was by Lewis S. Gannett, giving a description of the I. W. W. at variance with the picture painted by Attorney General Palmer and other pretorian enemies of democracy. There was no question that it contained "dangerous thoughts," according to police definitions.

Official machinery and red tape, which has been running a losing race with dangerous thoughts since the day when Adam ate the apple, was as usual outdistanced in this instance. The newspaper was in that departed limbo of yesterday's editions before the police got into action. The best thing in their minds to do was to save the spilled milk by confiscating the pitcher. Of course the seeds of trouble which might be sown by the comparatively few copies of *The Nation* which come to Japan were negligible in proportion to the damage, if any, which had already been done by a vernacular newspaper with a daily circulation of several hundred thousand. But this particular edition of *The Nation* must be suppressed. This is what happened.

Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., a British corporation, with stores in Yokohama, Hongkong, and Singapore, is one of the largest publishing concerns, booksellers, and magazine distributors in the Orient. Each week, if a mail steamer arrives, twenty-five copies of *The Nation* are received by the Yokohama store of Kelly & Walsh for the Japan trade. The Yokohama police telephoned to the store that they were coming to seize any copies of that particular edition of *The Nation* which might be on its counters. When the police arrived, a few minutes later, all the copies had been "sold" and there were none to confiscate. The police duly made a report to that effect, and the vernacular newspapers published stories that *The Nation* had been suppressed, each of them sketching Mr. Gannett's article in a manner which would have been uncanny if they did not have the magazine in front of them.

Though no copies of subsequent issues of *The Nation* have been received through the mail since that time, the police say that "no suppression will be enforced against ensuing numbers unless they contain similar articles." Being suppressed by the police has more advertising value for a periodical or book than losing her jewels or being named corespondent in a divorce suit has for an actress.

In a long editorial entitled Raids on Dangerous Thoughts, the Japan *Chronicle* of Kobe in commenting on the "capture of the New York *Nation*," says in its usual forceful and pungent style:

> The police seem to be very unimaginative persons. They see that the Americans can read their *Nation* without the Union going up in smoke, and they see the English reading their own particular *Nation* without becoming denationalized in consequence. And the Americans and the English are comparatively informed in the way of patriotism. There is in them none of the national solidarity, the community of pride in national descent, and all the standardized nobility of national thought that make Japan unique among nations. Yet they can read their *Nations* and their five-and-thirty other dangerous periodicals without the countries going to the dogs but rather growing greater. In Japan however—the loyal, the staunch, the nationally conscious, the intrinsically superior—it is conceived that a little literature which is harmless elsewhere will work havoc. The guardians of the people have singularly little faith in them or even in the effects of the loyalist education so sedulously inculcated. At this spectacle how can a world, grown cynical in experience, do aught but laugh?

The Japanese press laws are quite elaborate and, like all other laws, dependent for their interpretation largely on the opinions or prejudices of police and judges. Usually newspapers and other periodicals must make a cash deposit of from 175 to 2,000 yen as a guaranty that any fines will be paid. In addition a newspaper usually has a dummy editor or publisher who will go to jail in case of trouble. A newspaper is not permitted to publish details of preliminary examinations, and when an individual is libeled it must publish a retraction in the same type and position. When it violates the military or diplomatic censorship it is liable to suspension by a court.

Those responsible in person for what appears are: (1) The actual or nominal editor, (2) one who signs published matter, (3) one who demands the insertion of a correction or contradiction.

Suppression of local newspapers happens occasionally.

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Usually the police arrive deliberately several hours after the edition has been distributed to the news-stands and has caught the mail trains. Almost invariably the office is notified in advance that they are coming. The police seize all "visible" copies and a message is telephoned over the city and telegraphed to other cities to confiscate all copies remaining unsold on the news-stands.

On the face of this such a proceeding looks like futile flubdub. However, the police realize that they are not really suppressing anything, but merely going through the motions. Their action is more of a warning than a punishment. If a newspaper or periodical persists in publishing articles for which it has been once suppressed, or which it has been warned not to publish, it can be suspended from publication for a definite period of days or weeks or even closed permanently and the publisher fined and imprisoned. Also, if the police wished to be drastic, they could do their censoring of the newspaper's proofs before permitting each edition to appear. This is not done and the censorship is much less hampering or effective than generally imagined. However, it is sufficiently vigilant, in a post-mortem style, as any government department may request the suppression of an article which it feels is prejudicial to its particular field of national activity.

On one of the occasions when the Japan *Advertiser* in Tokio was suppressed it had printed a photograph of a nude statue. To those who do not understand the Japanese standard of ethics this may seem strange in a country where the sexes are not segregated in public bathhouses or beaches or even in toilet rooms of railroad stations. Roughly, the distinction is that anything which is necessary is not immodest. Unnecessary display of nudity or even affection is considered an affront to morals and decency. Kissing scenes are cut out of moving pictures, working considerable havoc with American films. Art must wear a kimona.

Notices warning newspapers against the publication of certain facts or surmises are frequent. The latest instance occurred last November, during the negotiations over the Yap cable station, when all newspapers and news agencies in the Empire were warned one night not to print anything about the result of the conference between Japan and "a certain country"—the latter being the stereotyped phrase indicating the United States—over communications. But the censor permitted Reuter's and other foreign correspondents to cable this official notice to the outside world, though its discussion was forbidden in Japan.

At the time the occupation of the northern half of Saghalin was contemplated the newspapers were warned not to speculate on the permanency of Japanese troops on the island. They also were warned not to publish any speculations on the cause of the fire which destroyed the amphitheater of the World's Sunday school convention in Tokio the night before the convention started. One vernacular newspaper printed a story that two Japanese training ships were marooned in South America on account of the failure of some naval official to provide them with sufficient supplies for the cruise. Probably the story was exaggerated, but a warning came to all the newspapers not to publish any stories about the two ships. Some of the warnings are later revoked and others stand until their subject-matter becomes ancient history from a newspaper standpoint. Of the latter the "mysterious diplomatic blunder" is a shining example of 1920.

The Japanese foreign office says that there is no censorship on cables which are sent to other countries for publication. They say that if a correspondent should send a cable which was maliciously untrue and damaging to Japan, they probably would not know about it until after it was published, and that then they would take suitable action against the correspondent.

The latest official figures show that sixty-two foreign books were suppressed in 1916, twenty-five for being prejudicial to public order and thirty-seven as against public morals. In 1917, 738 warnings were given to newspapers and periodicals (there were 3,018 of both in the Empire), 174 orders of suspension were issued, and 244 cases taken into court. In the same year, 553 books were suppressed on account of morals and forty-five on account of public morals, 177 magazines were given warning, and twenty almanacs forbidden publication, the latter being a monopoly of the Great Shrine of Ise.

The difference shown by the above figures between the repression of "dangerous thoughts" in the Japanese language and the same thoughts in foreign languages is striking. Translations in Japanese of De Maupassant and Flaubert and similar authors are suppressed, which may be preferred to the American method of permitting flaccid translations in public libraries. The unexpurgated French editions of the same novelists are not interfered with in Japan, the official explanation being "that they are read only by those who are above temptation by novelists."

Bolshevism and socialism are considered "dangerous thoughts" without camouflage. Professor Morito of the Imperial University in Tokio is now in jail for commenting on a phase of Kropotkin's writings, as is the editor of the magazine which published the professor's article. Aside from the present inconvenience of the professor and publisher, the chief result has been to create a popular demand for the writings of both Kropotkin and Morito. It is surprising how many persons are conversant with them despite police vigilance. Either because they actually think themselves or because youth in Japan is becoming unruly, professors and school-teachers seem to be the principal sufferers on account of "dangerous thoughts."

Trotzky's rather dry book on Bolshevism was prohibited the day after it was reviewed by the Japan *Chronicle*. Lots of people want to read it now. Lenin's book, which is said to be a rather uninteresting restoration of the doctrines of Marx, and Eden and Cedar Paul's rather eloquent "Creative Revolution" have both been reviewed by the same energetic English newspaper, but have not received the same sales support from the police.

It is said that certain books of Herbert Spencer, Mill, and such old-time philosophers are on the official blacklist, but that the police have forgotten about them in the flood of new accumulations. One of the latter, considered prejudicial to Japan's diplomatic and national reputation, is "Japan at the Cross Roads," by A. M. Pooley, the author of "The Secret Memoirs of Count Hayashi," and "Japan's Foreign Policies." The Yokohama manager of Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., still bewails the fourteen copies of "Japan at the Cross Roads," which the police took off his shelves and were a "total loss." However, in Japan it is much as in "dry" America. If a prominent citizen here really loves you, he opens his strong-box and shows you a copy of the forbidden book. There must be a supply coming from somewhere.

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John Keats: 1821-1921

By MARK VAN DOREN

KEATS was so full of poetry, body and soul, that beginning poets in times like these or any other rightly return to him for color and momentum, furniture and fire. Many new kinds of poetry flourish today, with many new inspirations, but Keats's kind remains as surely alive as it was in the days of Tennyson and Rossetti. Almost as if to celebrate the centenary of his death come volumes of verse from England, by Edward Shanks and Aldous Huxley, packed with the luxuries, even the vulgarities, that notoriously derive from Endymion. Readers of Rupert Brooke six years ago, and of his imitators since, can never have been doubtful, if they knew Keats, as to the model for a manner so crowded with fine things said intentionally, so carefully enriched with catalogues of enjoyable objects.

Keats was full of poetry both in an unhappy and in a happy sense, and the reason for the distinction is interesting. His unhappy poetry was his purely personal poetry, was the poetry of himself turned in upon himself; his happy poetry was the poetry of the liberating, objective world. This is a commonplace, but it may decently be directed in any generation to the ears of poets who would too particularly indulge and exploit their personalities. Keats, when he was a good poet, was a personal poet with a vast difference. It has generally been remembered how saturated he was every minute with imminent verse. "I had become all in a tremble from not having written anything of late," he wrote in a letter once; "the sonnet overleaf did me good; I slept the better last night for it; this morning, however, I am nearly as bad again." "I feel assured I should write from the mere yearning and fondness I have for the beautiful, even if my night's labors should be burnt every morning, and no eye ever rest upon them." It is not so generally appreciated how likely he was in the better moments to be oblivious of his painful private state, to be what is called an objective artist.

There is his passion for scenery, for instance, which at first, to be sure, in Endymion, was only a passion for setting his hungry soul among delicious bowers, but which eventually was a passion for making beauty true. An observer of him as a student in London recorded that in reading poetry then to his friends he "admired more the external decorations than felt the deep emotions of the Muse. He delighted in leading you through the mazes of elaborate description." Description became his task and evoked his genius, once he was something like mature. He could be interested only in what had shape and place; meaning and motion were not sufficient for him as they were for Shelley. Keats stood still and looked, stationing his imagination by preference in hushed retreats preternaturally thickened with frondage, but stationing it always somewhere. Using an etcher's cunning in The Eve of Saint Mark, a glorified mosaicist's conscience in The Eve of St. Agnes, a great and tranquil painter's wisdom in Hyperion, he rendered visible a perfect world, not merely himself within a perfect world. A reader, he thought, should see all that he saw, but should not see him. "The rise, the progress, the setting of Imagery should, like the sun, come natural to him, shine over him, and set soberly, although in magnificence, leaving him in the luxury of twilight."

For another instance, there is his increasing conviction that his poetry existed, that poetry in general existed, but that he did not. With this increased his lucidity, with his lucidity his power, and with his power his peace. It is agreed that a writer must do well if he knows much about his subject; but Keats, in Endymion, knew too much about his subject, which is the same as saying, since he was young, and the subject was himself, that he knew too little about it. He saw clearly enough, both then and later, that he had to get rid of himself. "I feel more and more every day, as my imagination strengthens, that I do not live in this world alone, but in a thousand worlds." "A poet is the most unpoetical of anything in existence, because he has no identity; he is continually in, for, and feeling some other body. . . . It is a wretched thing to confess, but it is a fact that not one word I ever utter can be taken for granted as an opinion growing out of my identical nature." If Keats exists in his poetry, he exists, it may be said once more, with a difference; the whole of him passed into it. Endymion died that Saturn and Hyperion and great Thea could be born.

But any discussion of Keats must sooner or later turn to his language. The meaning of certain poets is more important than their language; Keats's language was his meaning. Tone was his favorite word, his most necessary thought. "We shall enjoy ourselves hereafter by having what we called happiness on Earth repeated in a finer tone." "Let me write down a line of glorious tone." He studied effects of consonants and vowels, and inquired the values of words in spiritual ears. "There is a cool pleasure in the very sound of vale," he noted on the margin of his Milton. And so far as meter is concerned, it almost can be said that he lived from one good cadence to another.

Here, somewhat as before, a distinction is inescapable between the language of himself and the language of the poetry that was in him. The language of himself was expression of a kind, but hardly communication. It expressed, in a raw, ineffectual way, his instinctive delight in slanting verbal curves, in plunges and dips and quivers of syntax, but it failed to convey much experience of beauty. The language of the purer poetry that lay in him, like the language of all pure poetry everywhere, communicated beauty through cadences so sure that they seemed determined less by him alone than by the abstract Muses. "In reading prose," said Emerson, a great poet and judge of poetry, "I am sensitive as soon as a sentence drags; but in poetry, as soon as one word drags. Even as the thought mounts, the expression mounts. . . . The poem is made up of lines each of which fills the ear of the poet in its turn, so that mere synthesis produces a work quite superhuman." The passages and lines in Keats which are superhuman, which belong, that is, not to Keats but to poetry, are few, but their smooth, slow, richly-running tide, their grave, sweet movement like descending weights, bear them beyond the business of enumeration.

> The voice I hear this passing night was heard
> In ancient days by emperor and clown. . . .
>
> Far from the fiery noon, and eve's one star,
> Sat gray-hair'd Saturn, quiet as a stone. . . .
>
> Thou foster-child of Silence and slow Time. . . .
>
> To cease upon the midnight with no pain. . . .
>
> But where the dead leaf fell, there did it rest. . . .
>
> Dream, and so dream all night without a stir.

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Heroes and Hero Worship

By R. NIEBUHR

THE war did more for democracy than to cast down kings from their thrones; it discredited heroes and supermen. The irresponsible authority of hereditary monarchs is hardly more inimical to democratic interests than the inordinate and only partly responsible power with which men invest their supermen and heroes. The war did not immediately abolish hero worship, for it produced as many heroes as any war of history, but it forced them upon a sophisticated world against its own best democratic instincts and thus produced the reaction which promises to deliver us from their peril.

The belief in heroes has been a cherished illusion among men in all ages. Constantly struggling with difficulties from which they could find no way of escape, they found it comforting to attribute superhuman courage and wisdom to a few among them and look to these for salvation from ills with which they felt themselves powerless to cope. But the comfort of this illusion has cost humanity dear because the power which men have intrusted to their supermen has invariably been used to rend them, the heroes inevitably lacking either the virtue or wisdom to justify the expectations of their worshipers.

War periods are particularly conducive to hero worship and fruitful in heroes because they create precisely those problems to which the average man feels unequal and abound in those perils from which he seeks escape by calling to his idols. He resorts to the fiction of supermen the more readily because war inevitably concentrates great power in the hands of a few and prompts the error of assuming that the possession of power implies capacity for its use. Moreover, emotions always run high in periods of national danger and give ready support to the cult of hero worship which, in common with other religions, requires a strong emotional power to carry it along by glossing over possible defects in fact with the fiction created by need and desire.

The past war has been no exception to the rule. Its heroes have been many. What is significant is that they barely outlasted the conflict. Clemenceau, but recently the savior of France, is denied the presidency. Lloyd George maintains his power because crafty enough to renew his lease upon it while war psychology prevails, but he is known for the artful political juggler that he is. Venizelos is in exile. Hindenburg's wooden statue is rotting in some back yard of Berlin, and the case of the Kaiser is too obvious to require comment. The fall of Wilson is most tragic of all. Hailed yesterday as the Messiah of a new world order, he is today discredited abroad and disliked at home as he retires into private life. Foch seems to have fared best among the supermen, but even the cry "Leave it to Foch" is heard no more as we see the hero of a war that was meant to end all war busily engaged in preparing for the next one and demonstrating that a military strategist is not necessarily a statesman. Not the least significant is the case of Pershing, whose behavior since the war has been wholly modest and dignified. Yet compare his position today with that of former military heroes of our history—made presidents by a grateful people.

Some will attribute the fall of all of our war idols to the lack in each one of some quality essential to real greatness. Foch was only a strategist and not a statesman, they will say, while Pershing lacked those qualities of personal magnetism without which mere professional efficiency makes no appeal. Wilson would have been great had he been a little shrewder and Clemenceau, had the milk of human kindness not turned to gall in him. But these objections are hardly convincing. Heroes of other ages were as imperfect and yet not discredited. Besides there was Lloyd George, who was a little shrewder than Wilson and a little more human than Clemenceau and yet no greater than either. But the fact that, out of the struggle of the ages which called forth the intensest energy of the greatest and most diverse number of people not a single supremely outstanding figure remains.

Our war heroes have been the victims not only of the sophistication of our age, but of a peculiar irony. They fell because they were raised to impossible heights. They failed because they were intrusted with tasks beyond the capacity of any man. They were dwarfed by playing on too large a stage. Supermen may have always been fiction, but the modern state with its consolidations of power has reduced them to an absurdity. It has cured us of idol worship by claiming too much for or expecting too much of the idols. The centralization of power which rapid means of intercourse have made possible in the modern state and the stabilization of authority which has come through our constitutional forms have given the modern statesman authority more far reaching and real than any dreamed of by ancient despots, while the complexities of modern life have made a wise use of this authority by a single individual simply impossible. The history of the three old men in Paris deciding the fate of peoples whose very names were unfamiliar to them and sealing the destiny of nations in decisions from which personal motives could not be excluded and in which momentary passions were bound to weigh heavily, shows us the absurdity of the demands made on the modern statesman. Here were three men raised to impossible heights of authority and compelled to play a game with the destiny of nations for stakes, with the possibility that one man's lack of wit, and another man's lack of courage, might seal the doom of millions of his fellowmen.

But the forces of modern civilization have not been content to discredit the supermen by making their failure inevitable. They took steps to publish their failure to all the world. The same means of rapid communication and intercourse which have consolidated the power of the modern state and made it possible for the statesman to play on a world stage have also destroyed the remoteness of the superman. The ubiquitous newspaper and the clairvoyant reporter have subjected the great man to the intimate scrutiny of his fellows, which has become all the more critical since literacy has become fairly universal and given each man the pride and power of his own opinion. Heroes can thrive only where ignorance reduces history to mythology. They can not survive the coldly critical temper of modern thought, when it is functioning normally, nor can they be worshiped by a generation which has every facility for detecting their foibles and analyzing their limitations.

The war has only hastened a development toward which all forces of history have been conspiring. If it tempted us for a while to accept the puerile hero worship of some of our war reporters, it has the more surely driven us into the wholesome cynicism that feeds on such history as Phillip Gibbs's "Now It Can Be Told" and hails Lytton

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Strachey's biographical art. This is the twilight not only of kings but of all supermen. We have learned that we are not secure against despots simply because hereditary despotism has been destroyed and its power given into the hands of individuals against whose self interest we are guaranteed only by an occasional referendum and against whose folly we have no guaranty at all.

So far the lesson we have learned has affected only our temper and not our political philosophy or political forms. It will not be easy to apply the lesson in the reorganization of our political life without destroying the coherency and unity of the state. Yet no matter how great the peril it will be necessary not only to make the authority of the modern state increasingly responsible to the people but also to divide its power. No scheme of government will ever obviate the necessity of leadership in society and no government could function without confidence in leaders. Yet there must be a way of dividing the power and authority of the modern state without destroying its efficiency and of distributing authority in more exact proportion to the distribution of ability among men.

Those Mark-downs!

By WILLIAM A. McGARRY

THE consumer who doesn't care how he looks and is willing to wear out-of-date designs in any size into which he can force himself can find bargains today. Likewise, he can find plenty of merchandise at prices that seem reasonable—until he examines the material. One investigating retail sales becomes increasingly impressed that the older the article the greater the bargain, provided it fits. Old and inferior stock is being unloaded on the public in the guise of bargains. The price range in almost any store indicates that manufacturers are right when they say that retailers, on the whole, have not taken losses. But there is also plenty of indication that manufacturers who control their markets are still holding out for high prices.

In fields where competition is keen—shirts, clothing, hats, hosiery, underwear, and even in some lines of household furniture and equipment—manufacturers have been forced to sell direct to the consumer in the attempt to break high prices maintained by the retailer. It will be true of many other lines before the cost of living reaches a level proportionate to the tremendous cuts that have been made in raw materials. These reductions are being quoted every day in the attempt to show that the cost of living has been reduced. They are being used also in the campaign to reduce wages. Yet the fact is that retail prices are as high as ever, or nearly so, in lines that have suffered the greatest raw material and wage cuts. Deflation, in so far as it has been glowingly described as the promised land of economic relief, is still a mirage. To the wearied journeyman it is still a "now you see it, now you don't."

Shoes offer one illustration. They are being sold in retail stores all over the country at such prices as $9.95, $11.85, $14.35, with handsome price tags, especially made for the alleged slaughter showing the former price elaborately crossed off in red ink. These represent, as a rule, "reductions" of five, fifteen, and sixty-five cents respectively from the prices obtained during the "orgy of buying." Cheap shoes are for sale at lower prices.

A Philadelphia shoe store chain is now advertising a big sale with all the usual catch phrases—"taking a tremendous loss," "clearing the decks for new business," "less than wholesale," and so on. It is selling shoes as low as $2.95 a pair. In one of these stores the writer found exactly four pairs of shoes at this price. Two pairs were extremely small, two very large. The shoes were heavy and made of good material. But they were so badly shopworn that stitching was torn away in several places. A salesman led the way to another counter, marked $5.95, all odd sizes and out-of-date styles. From there it was an easy step to a counter piled high with shoes marked $9.95. The salesman admitted that the stuff was not selling. He had plenty of visitors, but few customers. The general complaint was that prices were too high for desirable goods. Nearly every visitor knew that green horse hides have dropped from a peak of $14 and $15 each to $5 and $6. Some of them had read the February report of the Federal Reserve bank covering this particular district, showing that wage reductions of 25 to 35 per cent have been made at many tanneries. Without exact figures for the entire industry every prospective purchaser knew that he was entitled to more than a five, fifteen, or sixty-five cent reduction on a pair of shoes, and indeed to much more than even a 5, 10, or 15 *per cent* reduction.

Similar conditions exist in hats, shirts, and clothing, although doubtless there are exceptions. A Philadelphia hat manufacturer who has always disposed of his stock through retailers is now selling hats at retail for $3.50 each, and is doing a business of more than $2,000 a week. At the peak of high prices he had to pay $15 a pound for the felt going into these hats. The price today is $7. Prices of silk bands have dropped 20 to 25 per cent. Many of the hats now being sold at retail were made to wholesale at $66 a dozen. But the manufacturer, after many cancelations, offered the hats to retailers at $42 a dozen. Instead of buying at this price and then averaging it with the cost of stock bought at high prices, retailers generally preferred to hold out for $8 and $10 on hats which had cost them $5.50. As a result they forced the manufacturer to sell direct. Every time he sells a hat the retailer loses a sale, and his chance of collecting a fat profit on high priced stock grows less.

The consumer does not need to be told that the cost of living has not been reduced in anything like the proportion that raw material prices have dropped. But apparently the retailers and some manufacturers are not yet awake to the fact that there is a consumers' strike. A familiar phrase is "people have money; they've got to buy." But the records show that they are not swallowing all that is being fed to them about price reductions. They are interested in ultimate prices, not in alleged reductions. In the same Federal Reserve report referred to above, under the caption of retail trade, it is remarked that not even attractive offers have served to draw buyers to some localities. "A second explanation is noted," the report continues, "where reduction sales have been conducted continually during the past six months or more. In short, the public has been buying where it has felt absolute confidence in the prices quoted, but where sales of a varied nature have taken place in a constant series, the public has become immune to the advertising appeal."

It might be unfair to recall the old adage about what happens when thieves fall out. But there is a certain grim

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satisfaction for the consumer in the present situation. Manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers are fighting in the open, to some extent, for the first time in the history of business. This is an exact parallel in effect to the condition that led to regulation of public utilities. The public is beginning to learn something about "mark-up."

Take collars. Three companies produce most of the output—Cluett, Peabody and Company, Earl and Wilson, and the Ide Company. When the war started men's collars sold at retail two for a quarter, and they were made partly of linen and partly of cotton. Now they are all cotton and the standard retail price is twenty-five cents. For a time it was thirty-five cents. And the three grades of cotton now going into a collar cost the manufacturer just a trifle over three cents. In 1918 Cluett, Peabody and Company's profits were $1,871,163, according to Poor's Manual. But in 1919 the profits were $5,153,129. The surplus for 1918 was $301,163. For 1919 it was $3,584,179. In those days the big companies sold to retailers only with the distinct understanding that the retail price would be maintained. Now he is "requested" to maintain the price, and if he doesn't he is told that the factory is "just out" of the size and styles he orders. But in spite of this you can buy collars today at twenty cents, and less. You can do this because the retailer who is desperately advertising for $1.95 cheap shirts worth about seventy-five cents, must have something to get visitors into his store. He pays $2.10 a dozen, or seventeen and a half cents each, for collars. The total investment is negligible in comparison to his entire stock, and the turnover is relatively rapid. Business has fallen off so much that the control of the manufacturer is slipping.

In clothing the raw-material reductions have been even more marked. Fine clothing territory wools sold for $1.70 a pound in January of 1920. The price now is from sixty to sixty-five cents. And this is not peculiar to one quality. Fine staple territory dropped in the same period from $2 to ninety cents; Ohio quarter blood from sixty-seven to twenty-seven cents. Reports of manufacturers to the Federal Reserve Bank show reductions in cloth of 10 per cent in January of this year, making a total of about 60 per cent below the peak. They also report reductions of 15 to 25 per cent in the wage scales.

How much of this has been passed along to the consumer? Perhaps the best answer to that question is to be found in the fact that more manufacturers than ever before are selling direct to the wearer, because they cannot sell to the retailer. Here again there are exceptions; but as a rule the lack of business indicates that the consumer has not even been given a fair average of high and low prices. He can now pretty generally buy the same cheap stuff that he could always buy at low prices. For good material the "reduction price" is still absurdly and obviously high.

The result of all this is that even the retailer who has made bona fide reductions is not getting as much business as he needs, mainly because the public has lost confidence. When there is manufacturing competition the consumer who is not expert in judging materials will reason that his chance of getting his money's worth is greater at the factory than in the retail store. And in the meantime all the talk of optimism avails nothing while the consumer remains a pessimist, and pessimist he will remain, a buyer on strike, until the prices to him are much, much lower, somewhere in the vicinity of pre-war, pre-1914, standards.

In the Driftway

FRONTIERS are after all only accidental monuments to man's stupidity, and the pother and fuss and elaborate formalities which we attach to them are but a passing bit of petty pomp. It will not always be thus; indeed it was not ever so. In the ancient city of Troyes, hard by the Street of the Care-free Children, *rue des Enfants Sans-Souci*, is a tall Gothic church dedicated to the memory of Jacques Pantaléon, son of a Troyes shoemaker, who became Pope Urban IV. On the stone wall of the north crossing hangs a tablet that tells without ornament a significant story of the internationalism of the thirteenth century. Jacques was a choir boy at Troyes; he entered the priesthood, if the Drifter's memory serves him aright, at Liége, which is now across the Belgian frontier; moved to Cologne, which in these modern days means passing another frontier, political, linguistic, and emotional; in time he became Bishop of Verdun, in France again, Papal Legate at Warsaw, Poland, Primate of Jerusalem in Palestine, and finally Pope, dying at Perugia in Italy. Frontiers there were in his day; but Jacques Pantaléon could not have taken them very seriously.

* * * * *

THE Drifter has been reading a more modern tale of the futility of frontiers. A German was engaged to marry a Lorraine girl when the armistice suddenly erected a frontier wall between them. She became French, he remained German. The date for their wedding had been set. He applied for a permit to enter France for his wedding, but the papers lay forgotten on some official's desk, and the permit did not come. The day drew near; the bridegroom grew impatient. At last some shrewd fellow-townsmen told him of the unfeminist law code of his day, and the difficulty was solved. He wrote to the mayor of the girl's commune, and to the mayor of the commune just across the frontier from his own, and arranged with his own mayor to be with him on the scheduled day. The three mayors, the groom, the bride, and their friends, met on the imaginary line that cuts France from Germany. The groom, standing in Germany, and the bride, still in France, were married by the mayors. He could not enter France, and she had no permit to cross the line to Germany. But the mayor of the French commune gave her a mighty shove, and she fell into her husband's arms in Germany. Unmarried, she had been French, and required a passport to live in Germany; married, by our wise modern laws, she took the nationality of her husband, and became German. As a German, she required no special papers to dwell in her country; the mayor's shove had solved the problem of the frontier for her. For the rest of the world, the mummery of frontiers only grows.

* * * * *

HERESY ye have always with you. For nearly four years the Drifter has been shaken by one heresy after another, and appalled at the persecution which followed in its wake. He has seen his friends and neighbors browbeaten for being silly, for being wise, for being merely honest—yet he has survived. He has consoled himself with the thought that if his fellow-men were not advancing, they were at their worst only repeating the intolerant antics of past generations. And in a back file of the Cleveland *Press* he has found confirmation which revives his spirits like the

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sting of the March wind upon his cheeks. Some months ago the *Press* brought to light a letter written in 1826 by the School Board of Lancaster, Ohio, refusing to permit the schoolhouse to be used for a meeting to discuss railroads! The Board wrote in part:

You are welcome to use the schoolhouse to debate all proper questions in, but such things as railroads are impossibilities and rank infidelity. There is nothing in the word of God about them. If God designed that His intelligent creatures should travel at the frightful speed of fifteen miles an hour by steam, He would have clearly foretold through His holy prophets. It is a device to lead immortal souls down to hell.

The Drifter read, and chuckled. Accustomed to the commonplace marvels of today, the meager beginnings of the railroads of 1826 seem to us in 1921 but puny items of progress. The Drifter wonders if anyone will take the Acting Superintendent of Education in New York State aside, and whisper in his ear. In 1826 it was railroads; in 1921 it is communism that is an indelicate topic for discussion in our public schools. In 2116—but the Drifter stifles his impulse to prophesy.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Why the Socialist Vote Shrank

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Even enemies of the Socialist Party predicted for Eugene V. Debs 3,000,000 votes at the last election. Hopes and expectations of the leaders of the party ran even higher. But realities are respecters neither of hopes nor of expectations. Debs polled about 910,000 votes, which is but a slight advance on that of 1912 when he polled 901,873. The status of the Socialist Party thus once more becomes that of other insignificant third parties which from time to time cropped up on the national political arena and then disappeared.

As a national political movement the Socialist Party has been in the field continuously since 1892. Their nominee, Simon Wing, then polled 21,164 votes. The increase in party strength was very slight at the next national election, being only 36,274 in 1896; but with the appearance of Eugene V. Debs on the scene in 1900, it rose to 87,814. At the next two successive elections Debs succeeded so far as to jump the Socialist vote up to 402,283 and 420,793 respectively, and in 1912 to the phenomenal height of 901,873. In 1916, however, when Allan L. Benson displaced Debs as the banner-carrier of the Socialist Party, the strength of the party crumbled and fell to 590,579.

The year of grace 1920 was one that held many favorable conditions for the Socialist Party. Woman suffrage alone should have nearly doubled the strength of the party. The march of events between 1916 and 1920 was such as to cause people to think deeper than ever before. At no period of time in American history were so many people very directly affected by the economic and political trend of tremendous events following one another. In 1920, 2,000,000 of our young men were back from France, where, conceivably, a considerable part of them had their minds broadened and their visions enlarged. And did not Thaddeus Sweet make excellent propaganda for them? If, then, with the most favorable conditions for a really large vote in the history of their movement, they could but muster a strength equal to that of 1912—is this not retrogression?

The cooperative commonwealth is an abstract term, and must remain such for a long time to come for the masses of this country. And the masses do not deal in abstractions. On the other hand, let the Socialist Party raise the issue of unemployment, a very concrete and understandable issue, and omit for the present all other abstract ideals, and it is very conceivable that all organized labor would join forces with it, and it is even conceivable that all of the middle classes would support such an issue. To say that unemployment is the very worst evil from which suffer not only men who labor but also most retail merchants is to state a truism. Unemployment is the bane of the labor movement; in the face of it, unionism becomes prostrate; and it eats into the very life of 90 per cent of the people. Why not, then, give the people an issue around which they could rally, and which they would enthusiastically support? To do away with unemployment; to win the right to labor, the right to earn a living—can anything be more concrete?

New York, February 6 MAX MAHLER

Why Wells's "Outline" Is Remarkable

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: "Why does a review, which demonstrates that a book is really quite bad, begin by calling it remarkable and end by calling it a liberal education?" asks Mr. Simeon Strunsky referring to my review of Mr. Wells's "Outline of History."

This is indeed an embarrassing question. My answer may sound odd to Mr. Strunsky's keen ears. In reading the "Outline" I had a distinct *sensation* that I was reading a remarkable book, in spite of Mr. Wells's bad historical judgments. Why?

1. It makes a magnificent approach to human problems. What history is there besides this one that is at the same time a philosophy of life? To view history as the struggle of mankind to attain salvation through a universal solution of the terrible problems of poverty and war; to examine every phase of human development in the light of a great future: are not these the qualities of a remarkable book?

2. It gives a sense of continuity to history as no other book does, by explaining at length the origins of institutions and ideas. It is really more important to know the origin of writing than of the Balkan Question; of the Neolithic Man than of the bourgeoisie; of the Old Man of the Tribe than of Napoleon. History has too long dwelt in splendid isolation from her sister sciences with the result that the average historian writes as though man sprang fully grown from the brow of Clio.

3. It has interested thousands in reading history. The man who can interest the Tired Business Man and his mate, the Idle Woman of the Afternoon, in reading this serious two-volume work has to my mind done a remarkable thing for which he cannot be too highly praised. Many a man and woman will emerge from these volumes with enlightened views upon the great problems of the day. Is this not a liberal education?

No, Mr. Wells has not written a "rotten" history. With all its glaring faults—and I pointed them out unsparingly—it ought to have a salutory influence upon teachers and writers of history. Instead of emphasizing historical wrongs, national antagonisms, and racial hatreds that have done no end of mischief, they will learn to emphasize those things in the past that make for a better future.

New York, February 10 J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO

Contributors to This Issue

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Books

Great Was the Fall!

How We Got On With the War. By Irene Cooper Willis. London: The National Labour Press.

FINDING it impossible in the present indeterminate state of affairs to conclude her study of British Liberal idealism, Miss Cooper Willis has continued "How We Went Into the War" with an intermediary volume, covering the period from the outbreak of war up to the armistice. The material "pilloried" in this is mostly taken from the *Daily News*, Mr. A. G. Gardiner, till recently its editor, being chosen as fairly representative of British Liberals and his paper as the one chiefly responsible for the myth of the Holy War. The gist of his famous letter to Lord Northcliffe in December, 1914, epitomized in the words "We lost—and you won," is taken as the text of this little book, and is proved true to a far greater extent than when the words were written. For, as Miss Cooper Willis points out, had Liberals at that time allowed the sense of these words thoroughly to permeate their consciousness they might have followed a course more consistent with their pre-war policy and their idealism might have been tempered. "It was not tempered. It was arrogantly confident, overweeningly sure. There has been no more pitiable spectacle in the war than the spectacle of Liberals, at sea in reaction, clinging to the myth that their aims were supreme."

Carried on a wave of enthusiasm, which discarded Bernard Shaw's "Common Sense" assertion that the war was "a balance of power war and nothing else" in favor of all manner of visionary aims covering the entire terrestrial globe, and bolstered up by windy rhetoric which far outdid that of the blunter and more patently egotistical Tories, the Liberals sailed through the first months of the war blind to everything but Germany's mistreatment of Belgium, and insistent that if Prussian militarism were but defeated militarism in all other countries would automatically end. Even when they had to relinquish the idea of an early victory, their illusions were in no wise dimmed. Dazzled by the luminous prospect of the reconstituted world of their desire which was to emerge as the result of all the bloodshed, they failed to heed the pitfalls being dug by the forces of reaction, though these were obvious enough. There was the *Daily Mail's* frequent and frank discussion of war aims, which included seizing German trade; obtaining naval positions, "Gibraltars of the Future"; and doing all the land grabbing possible, as for example: "German East Africa, especially, with an area of 400,000 square miles, will pleasantly fill in the solitary gap in the continuity of British possessions between Cairo and the Cape. In the Pacific, too, there are many islands that it will be an act of charity to relieve Germany of."

Though the confidence of Liberals weakened toward the close of Mr. Asquith's administration, it revived fully on the outbreak of the Russian revolution, and they became ecstatic on the entry of America which followed so soon after. "Deep has answered to deep," wrote A. G. G., "and across the sundering ocean the democracy of America clasps the hands of the democracy of Russia, freed at last from the gyves of the centuries." Nor was the *Daily News* able to detect any difference between the Russian revolutionary peace principles and those of the Allies. "In all essentials the peace of M. Lenin's ideal is the peace of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Wilson." Their hopes were again somewhat dashed by the continued failure of the Allies to publish war aims, but faith in Wilsonism buoyed them up, so that by the time the final military successes led to the armistice, they had traveled so far on the road of self-deception that "The *Daily News* felt that it was living in a fairy tale—all its dreams were coming true."

It is with keen irony that Miss Cooper Willis records and analyzes the course of Liberal sentiment. Her terse comments fall with unerring aim on the vulnerable points, so that this compilation of typical newspaper extracts makes strangely dry and humorous reading. Humorous, that is, until one stops to realize how large a part of public opinion everywhere is reflected in the mirror here held up to British Liberals. Then the quasi-comedy becomes tragedy, for the laugh is at the expense of such a large section of mankind. It is ludicrous enough now, humiliating as it was at the time, to reread such a perversion of the natural order of things as the statement that the Kaiser and the Crown Prince—"if guilty"—were "to be tried"; such partial reasoning as the designation of England's advance of £5,000,000 to Rumania as a "loan," and Germany's of £3,000,000 to Bulgaria as a "bribe," previous to the entry of those two countries into the war; such childish methods of meeting the food shortage as the proposal to suppress beer and race horses, since both "consumed grain"; or of such an anomaly as the rector of a Scottish church (at Goose Green, Dulwich) who converted his vestry into a shell factory.

The most pitiable part of it all is that in deluding themselves Liberal war leaders carried astray such a large part of the world which looked to them for leadership and faithful interpretation of facts. This trust, wittingly or unwittingly, they betrayed. Instead of holding to the true idealism, which probes diligently for truth and tests it fearlessly, they followed the false, which insists on seeing facts as it would be pleasant they should be, and which necessarily leads to wrong trains of thought, since it deduces them from a wrong basis. For the public, the descent from such illusion is to cynicism, and thus the sane realization of things as they are is missed in both directions. Nothing but individual thought can conquer these blind tendencies. Not only must leaders come to a greater sense of their responsibility, but this responsible sense must also come to be innate in every member of the crowd, which must grow out of drove instincts into those worthy of men. Only thus can national opinion be trusted not to go astray, and governments be restrained from prostituting public sentiment to sordid commercial aims. The best hope of avoiding for the future such manifestations of popular folly as this instructive little book shows up, lies in sounder educational textbooks and more fairly written histories.

B. U. BURKE

Transitions in Politics

Political Systems in Transition: War-Time and After. By Charles G. Fenwick. The Century Company.

IN this volume of about three hundred pages we have a review, concise and dispassionate, of the outstanding political results of the Great War. Almost one-third of the book is devoted to the changes in the governments of Russia, Germany, and Austria, and to the war methods employed by the parliaments of England and France. While giving consideration to the conflict of ideals which some imagine to be the root of the war, Professor Fenwick tells us bluntly that the issue lies deeper—in the economic rivalry of the nations and the international anarchy which imposes on each country the necessity of defending its rights by force. Outside of Russia and the Central Powers, it seems, the much discussed and ambitious programs of "reconstruction" have faded away into a dreary hope that things will not get worse. The mere extension of the suffrage in Great Britain, which was bound to come anyway, is a small mouse to issue from the groaning mountain.

In the midst of much editorial froth and fume, it is interesting to have the judgment of a sober and thoughtful American scholar on the drift of affairs in Germany and Russia. Though cautious about expressing a hasty judgment on the new constitution drafted by the Teutons, Mr. Fenwick thinks that, taken at its face value, it represents a truly democratic form of government, contains many elements of intrinsic worth, promises to combine efficiency with democratic popular control, and makes a heroic effort to reconcile the demands of individualism and

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socialism. As to Russia, Mr. Fenwick is careful to make a distinction between the soviet form of government and the principles of communism, but he believes that the whole experiment has many profound lessons for the rest of the world and that when the flood has receded, as in the case of the French Revolution, the course of the world's thinking and acting will still be deeply affected.

Of the remaining two-thirds of the volume, more than one-half is given to the war powers of the President and the emergency legislation, State and Federal, evoked by the war. A fourth and last section deals with the newer ideals of democracy and with political and international reconstruction. Here are to be found brief descriptions of important legislative and executive acts connected with the prosecution of the war, and a summary consideration of the various proposals associated with that vague term "industrial democracy," public ownership, a national budget system, and the possibility of cabinet government in the United States.

Mr. Fenwick does not himself make many judgments or propose many new things. He evidently believes that, while rejecting socialism somewhat emphatically, we shall be adopting one socialistic measure after another in meeting concrete issues as they arise. He asserts that the abstract principle of freedom of speech, in view of recent legislation, is in "a somewhat precarious position." He shrinks from popular control over foreign affairs in view of the "chauvinistic" character of American public sentiment. He proposes a constitutional amendment conferring upon the Federal government the power to deal with all problems of national importance which transcend the authority of the State legislatures; in framing it he might have recourse to the plan devised by that far-sighted man, Alexander Hamilton, nearly a hundred and forty years ago.

In a work so temperate in tone and so carefully done there is little with which one can profitably quarrel. It is hardly correct to say that Magna Carta "contained guaranties against oppression of the people by the king." The term "people" had no legal significance in the Middle Ages and certainly the bulk of the English people, the serfs, secured few rights under Magna Carta. Neither is it quite accurate to say that the American ideal recognizes the right of a majority of the electorate to control the government. Anyone who will read the tenth number of the *Federalist* will discover that the framers of the Federal Constitution feared above all things the rule of the majority. Moreover, it is a vague term. Majority of whom? Of all the potential voters? Of those who register? Of those who take the trouble to vote? In some cases we are ruled by pluralities; in other cases by two-thirds of Congress and three-fourths of the State legislatures without any referendum to the electorate at all. Really, the time has come for someone to explore the facts and implications of majority rule.

Mr. Fenwick favors freedom of speech so long as the speaker advocates changes according to the forms of law. With this idea most Americans will doubtless agree. It is interesting to note, however, that, had the framers of the Federal Constitution adhered to the forms of law prescribed by the Articles of Confederation, they doubtless could not have secured the adoption of our present system of government.

One more train of reflection is suggested by Mr. Fenwick's interesting book. The American democratic system, in dealing with military affairs, seems to amount to this: A President, who may represent a minority of the voters as did Lincoln in 1861, may create a diplomatic situation which compels Congress to declare war. As soon as war is declared, the Constitution, for practical purposes, permits any action necessary to win the war. During the war, everybody must accept the decision of the government as final. Any appeal to the voters to turn the administration out of office at an election and return one pledged to a reversal of the war policy and a return to peace is treason. Query: What becomes of democracy? Alexander Hamilton provided one answer a long time ago in the seventieth number of the *Federalist*: "Every man the least conversant with Roman story knows how often that republic was obliged to take refuge in the absolute power of a single man, under the formidable title of Dictator, as well against the intrigues of ambitious individuals . . . and the seditions of whole classes of the community . . . as against the invasions of external enemies." Everyone knows also what happened to Rome. It requires no very vivid imagination to discover where a series of wars and internal disturbances would lead us. So distinguished a jurist as Charles E. Hughes is reported to have expressed doubts whether the republic could survive a long war conducted along the lines followed by Mr. Wilson's administration.

CHARLES A. BEARD

A Laborer in Alaska

Alaska Man's Luck. By Hjalmar Rutzebeck. Boni and Liveright.

IT is typical of the spirit of Mr. Rutzebeck that he does not think it strange to write, in his letter to the publisher, "I left school when I was 12, determined to become an author." His literary activities since then have been hampered by the necessity of learning English, and "by having to make a living for myself and my family, except the one year when I was in jail." And few writers indeed would be so frank as to admit: "Generally, I am quite conceited, but now in my humble moments, I accomplish my best work."

One could regard this book merely as a pleasant and true story of adventure by a present-day pioneer. He meets the girl of his choice, not, as in the old stories, in the church sociable, but in the rooms of the Young People's Socialist League. Determined to get to Alaska in order to make his "stake," he beats his way up the coast from California, riding on the rods and dodging the railroad detectives, and finally slaving for a month in a lumber camp. Once in Alaska, he is precipitated into a continual round of adventures, experiences of the sort for which the city man's substitute is the roller-coaster or the maze of the amusement park. Working as a miner, prospecting, making long and incredible journeys through the wilderness, over cliffs, glaciers, and fjords, threatened with starvation through unemployment, stealing, running away from the police, making breathless escapes from jail, he finally breaks his way into organized society by staking out his farm and becoming, in a small way, a man of property with hopes of more. His diary, written for the girl, makes the book. Surely, this is one way of "becoming an author" which is refreshing in contrast with the moonings of garret-bound youths who do not admit that they accomplish their best work when humble.

Although the book is an artless tale of actual experiences, it does not have the aridity which often vitiates stories of external adventure. It shows, in the first place, a genuine and delicate appreciation of wild nature. And the hero is not merely a lay figure in violent action; he is introspective, and his constant attempt to make an adjustment between himself and his surroundings produces many curious observations. Can a man go hungry, steal, run miles from the authorities, break jail, and finally spend a year in confinement without either losing his self-respect or becoming a callous anti-social being? Here is the proof that he can. Furthermore, here is the proof that it is just the sort of man who can do these things who can also, when he has the opportunity, become a pillar of society through energetic work. The result is achieved not through the conventional mummery of sin and repentance, but through genuine candor, which distinguishes clearly between personal fault and the crude judgment of law. It is easy to see what direction such a sturdy mind and body might have taken if there had been no free land to reclaim. If, in order to make a fit place for himself, he had had to undertake the reorganization of society, he would not have shrunk from the task. The one thing he would never have done would be to surrender the dignity and freedom of his personality. Here is a hint for Mr. Rutzebeck's next venture into authorship.

G. S.

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Anatole France in English Again

The Bride of Corinth; Little Pierre; The Seven Wives of Bluebeard. By Anatole France. John Lane Company.

ALTHOUGH these three books are not by any means the most interesting of Anatole France's work, they have a peculiar value for his admirers in that they include the earliest and the latest of his major writings. "Les Noces Corinthiennes" appeared in 1876, while its author was employed in the Bibliothèque du Sénat, practically unknown except for his "Poèmes Dorés," which had been published three years earlier, and for a few critical studies. "Little Pierre," in which the zealous see a note reminiscent of the author's childhood, came out in France in 1918 and was a welcome antidote to the drugged literature then in the bookshops and, if one may take liberties with a language not his own, for its creator's own bits of *patriesserie* then confounding his friends on *l'Humanité*.

"Les Noces Corinthiennes" is not happily entitled "The Bride of Corinth," in spite of its affiliations with Goethe's poem of that name. For one of the distinguishing marks of Anatole France's titles is that they refer to the situations in which the characters find themselves or to the circumstances which make them what they are. To one "Petit Pierre" there are a dozen "Rotisserie de la Reine Pédauque," and it is not entirely fancy which leads one to say that titles of the latter sort usually indicate the greater books. For human beings to Anatole France are much more the playthings of the Comic Spirit than they are even to Meredith, and in the maze of accident which plays out our lives for us he sees life's meaning. Thus "The Bride of Corinth" is no longer what she was for Goethe. Had the English publishers been as kindly as the French, they would have given us a translation of "Die Braut von Korinth" to compare. For Goethe the bride is a ghost come from the tomb for love, after being consecrated to the new god who wants neither lambs nor bulls as sacrifices, but human souls. To Anatole France she is a living girl in love who is vowed to eternal chastity by her mother in honor of Christ, the "Prince impur d'une race infestée," and in recompense for restoring her to health. Whereas in Goethe it is the force of the old gods which pulls her to the arms of a lover, in Anatole France it is love itself which forces her to break her mother's vow although she knows the price is death. In Goethe one has but the scene in the lovers' chamber, the entrance of the spirit, their discovery by the mother; in Anatole France one sees the drama unfolding from the first meeting of the two to the girl's tragic and self-imposed death.

It is a delightful Anatole France who presents himself to us here, a very charming and lyrical and bored Frenchman of post-classical leanings, more attached to those sad centuries when the grace and diversity of Hellas were giving way to the bigotry of the Orient. It is the Anatole France of "La Révolte des Anges" in a measure, particularly of those delectable chapters, Le Récit du Jardinier. But the editors have included in the same volume his "Man Who Married a Dumb Wife," produced so exquisitely by Mr. Granville Barker in New York in the season of 1915, a dramatic version of "Crainquebille," as played by Lucien Guitry, and "Come What May," a comedy of contemporary manners. These all suffer in translation, particularly Crainquebille, who turns into a London huckster, speaking an idiom in which "Mort aux vaches" suffers a channel-change into "Bloody copper." But such infelicities are perhaps inevitable. The poems in the volume are of course the worst sufferers, although certain stanzas are extraordinarily good—like a woman's preaching according to Dr. Johnson.

"The Seven Wives of Bluebeard" contains the title story, the legend of St. Nicholas, the story of the Sleeping Beauty, and The Shirt. These are all in Anatole France's most individual manner. The Seven Wives is a defense of Bluebeard, whose character has been progressively besmirched for years, thanks to the influence of Perrault. Instead of being the monster of vice and cruelty we have known in our childhood, he is here shown to us as a strong, kindly, rich, and uncomfortably uxorius seigneur, whose seven wives make his life a hell upon earth. In the legend of St. Nicholas we have the story of the three children who were saved from the salting tub. One becomes a roistering rake of a captain, one a money lender, and one a heretic who preaches "more errors than Sabellius, Arius, Nestorius, Eutyches, Manes, Pelagius, and Pachosius combined," among which are the denial of purgatory, of the need of confessing to a priest if one confesses to God, and of man's right to money and private property. Excommunicated by the Pope because of these children whom God bade him rescue, the saint finds refuge on a mountain top with a hermit who turns out to have been their murderer. The Shirt recounts the search for a happy man's shirt, which is to be used to cure the king of melancholy. After an examination of courtiers, scientists, millionaires, bourgeois, lovers, a pug-nosed man is found, living in a hollow tree, simple as a child or an animal is supposed to be. He admits that for all he knows he may be happy. He has never reflected about it. But he has no shirt.

"Little Pierre" will probably be the most popular of these three books, for it deals with a child. We have a fondness today for what is immature and unformed and we run to children as Frenchmen under the later Louis ran to happy savages and shepherds. No book written by the author of "L'Ile des Pingouins" could fail to be worth reading, but there is a lowered pitch in this volume, a dropping vitality, a reminiscence which rumbles and seems old. The fire flashes at times and the irony bites, but it is the fire and the irony of an ancient. One has only to compare it with "Le Livre de Mon Ami" to see that. Yet it is so immeasurably superior as a work of art to anything else being produced today that one must apologize for finding fault with it.

A word should be said for the translators, who have performed a task more than usually difficult in a more than usually successful manner. The style of Anatole France, with its hendiadyses and rapid contrasts, is a despair and a delight, and to see it even suggested in English is worth a great deal.

GEORGE BOAS

Books in Brief

IN "Poetic Origins and the Ballad" (Macmillan) Miss Louise Pound has brought together a body of evidence that plays a good deal of havoc with the mysterious notion classically expressed in the words "Das Volk dichtet." Wherever possible she has looked for traces of the dancing throng which the orthodox describe as the origin of narrative verse. On examination that rhythmic gang turns out to be very hard to find; moreover, when found it rarely gets beyond the song, and only at a relatively late date does it arrive at the ballad containing a continuous story. Not to enter into the more technical aspects of a controversy capable of being prolonged almost forever—as indeed it has been—by certain Teutonic mystagogues and their followers, Miss Pound by excellent arguments has shown the essential likeness of the poetic process in the earliest and in the latest ages. Then as now poetry was made by the person who was gifted enough to make it; the primitive folk had much the same role as the modern public, in that it did not originate but transmitted, molded, preserved, distorted, fixed, neglected, or lost the poetry which it got from the primitive artist, *re*-creating (in Miss Pound's phrase) but not creating it itself. In any simple sense the idea of communal composition has always been nonsense; and the modifications and explanations of the idea have gone a long way to doing away with what slight validity it ever had; Miss Pound has carried these modifications and explanations on to a point at which they are able to stand alone without any help from the old central mystic doctrine. The ballad process, she sensibly argues, has been much the same everywhere and all the time; in fact, it is still not a closed account

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but is going on in various quarters of the globe, where it can be studied. Why, then, be hypothetical and mystical about it? A particularly interesting part of her book deals with Balladry in America.

"THE Wisdom of the Chinese: Their Philosophy in Sayings and Proverbs, Edited with an Introduction by Brian Brown and a Preface by Ly Hoi Sang" (Brentano's) is an agreeably printed volume for amateurs in philosophy, Chinese or any other, who can dispense with scholarship even of an elementary sort. Following a vague and sketchy Introduction come selections from Confucius and Mencius, moralists, Lao Tzŭ and Chuang Tzŭ, mystics, from Yang Chu, Kang-Hsi, Kuan-Yi-Wu, Yu Tse, and Tse-Chan, from the poets, and from miscellaneous nameless makers of maxims. The translations, which happen in most cases to be classic ones, are never so much as identified, let alone attributed and annotated, and a bibliography at the end consisting of eleven items entered in six different ways is hardly even suggestive. Too much apparatus would have been pedantry, considering that the purpose of the book is popular, but too little apparatus leaves it anonymous and blind, and to that extent ineffectual. The material itself, of course, is very great, and worth reproducing in any form at any time. The imperturbable, unexceptionable Confucius, so penetrating and yet so impersonal, who neither "esteems a person more highly because of what he says nor undervalues what is said because of the person who says it," is amazingly fresh at every Western reading.

ISLANDS are accidents to Nature but ideas to men, at least to men with veins of philosophy and geography. The idea of an island, for instance, was always precious to Thoreau, who wanted to build his Walden hut on one. "Even a bare, grassy isle, which I can see over at a glance, has some undefined and mysterious charms for me." And think of Crusoe, Gulliver, Atlantis, Corsica, St. Helena, Prospero, Sindbad, The Golden Fleece, Treasure Island. In "Islands and Their Mysteries" (Duffield) A. Hyatt Verrill has exploited the idea with all the enthusiasm and science of which he is possessed, and they are considerable. He has lived much on islands, especially in the tropics, and knows their fauna and flora, their geology and poetry, as one knows anything that fascinates him and can have his time. His descriptions are not by name but by kind—coral, volcanic, lake, sea, tropical, salt, pearl, arctic—and are such as must prove useful material to conscientious writers of water yarns, to Stevensons, Conrads, Defoes, no less than to travelers and natural scientists.

SAMUEL McCHORD CROTHERS is an essayist in his own name and right; he thinks to please himself. The result is usually original and sound. In "The Dame School of Experience" (Houghton Mifflin) he ranges from dialogue with Old Dame Experience about the various kinds of torment the human race has been to her in her efforts to educate it, to gentle fun with the solemn affectations of Henry Adams. Mr. Crothers has one of the rarest qualities of the essay writer; he starts with man in the right perspective. He has the great advantage of having followed him in all his Biblical roles. His humor is frequently merely his method of pointing a way, of bringing man round to his senses. This once done he spares his victim for a further lesson the next day. Perhaps the best essay in the book is that called The Hibernation of Genius, in which Van Wyck Brooks, despite his recent book on Mark Twain, receives this wholesome dispensation.

MR. BURTON RASCOE'S beautiful edition of Theophile Gautier's "Mademoiselle Maupin" (Knopf) serves to make clear why this book has so often been hounded for appearing in the bookstores. The immorality, it now appears, of the casual editions has lain in the fact that they did not contain Gautier's Preface, which is as indispensable and as entertaining as one of Bernard Shaw's.

Notable New Books

The Colonization of North America 1492-1783. By Herbert Eugene Bolton and Thomas Maitland Marshall. Macmillan.
Not confined to the Original Thirteen.

The Battle of the Books in Its Historical Setting. By Ann Elizabeth Burlingame. Introduction by James Harvey Robinson.
The quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns at the end of the seventeenth century.

The Cords of Vanity.—Domnei (formerly issued as *The Soul of Melicent*). By James Branch Cabell. McBride.
New volumes in the uniform edition of Mr. Cabell's works.

The Schoolmistress and Other Stories. By Anton Chekhov. Macmillan.
Vol. IX of The Tales of Chekhov translated by Constance Garnett.

Careers for Women. By Catherine Filene. Houghton Mifflin.
A detailed, careful, and intelligent guide to the careers open to women in the United States.

Dream Psychology. By Sigmund Freud. McCann.
"The gist of Freud's psychology in the master's own words."

The Art of Letters. By Robert Lynd. Scribners.
Agreeable light essays on various English authors reprinted from English magazines.

Instinct and the Unconscious. By W. H. R. Rivers. Cambridge University Press.
A valuable attempt "to bring functional disorders of the mind and nervous system into relation with the concepts concerning their normal mode of working which are held by the biologist and the physiologist."

The Imperial Orgy. By Edgar Saltus. Boni and Liveright.
"An account of the Tsars from the first to the last"—court gossip, blood, and horrors related in a style vivid, staccato, decadent.

Rites of the Twice-Born. By Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson. Oxford University Press.
A description of Brahman customs.

Posthumous Works. By Leo Tolstoy. Translated by Archibald J. Wolfe. International Book Publishing Company. 3 vols.

Drama

Rank and File

DURING certain weeks of the theatrical season the crowding of plays makes necessary a rigid selection. Smooth and accomplished and successful things must give place, in the critic's record, to those which, despite a thousand faults, express a more vital mood, and fragile grace must yield to the rougher grain of a more significant beauty. Thus "Deburau" by Sacha Guitry (Belasco Theater) has been waiting. The play expresses, in both dialogue and structure, a characteristic French strain of romance drawn from the atmosphere of 1830 and also of the Second Empire. A stiff and very urban sort of poetry is in it, the pathos of old costumes and dead loves and forgotten plays. Its virtue is the French respect for passion and for art; its weakness lies in an execution both artificial and tawdry. Mr. Belasco has staged it with great sensitiveness. Play and producer are, for once, ideally at one. That fact gives us the quality of both. Another French play is the Callaivet and Flers comedy "Transplanting Jean" (Cort Theater). Its action is as fortuitous and as undisciplined by reality as that of similar native plays. But in the delineation of the central character there is so much tolerance and worldly wisdom of the better kind that one wishes the play to succeed if only as a corrective to the odious sentimentality that fills our stage.

Miss Grace George continues to cultivate comedy that has a hard, bright surface but is soft and amorphous within. The late Harold Chapin's "The New Morality" (The Playhouse) has neither novelty nor moral sagacity. Three briskly and not inelegantly written acts culminate in the discovery that the

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lady in the case desires her husband's attentions, both grave and gay, to be confined exclusively to herself. But that much was easily suspected from the first. The wisdom of such complete preoccupation during so long a process as marriage might have furnished here a notable comic debate. These British high comedies of modern manufacture, however, keep the form of the genre and are afraid of its substance. But you cannot be both brilliant and conventional, satiric and safe. Miss George has a grateful part in which she glints and glitters in her accustomed way. Her art has a very genuine if rather light and fleeting sort of beauty. But she should at least play Millament and Lady Teazle and keep the admirable Laurence Grossmith at her side.

The stereotyped formula plays thrive as they always do. Mr. John Golden, who has fully developed both the philosophy and the commercial possibilities of the hundred-per-cent sweet-pure-and-wholesome American drama, presents "Dear Me" (Republic Theater) by Luther Reed and Hale Hamilton. The Pollyanna formula is used. The heroine's name is April. Her business is saving people's souls by getting them to hustle. For salvation, in these plays, has nothing to do with any discipline or activity of the spirit, but consists in holding down a good job. April herself becomes a popular actress in a typical Golden play. The formula used in Mr. Willard Mack's "Near Santa Barbara" (Greenwich Village Theater) may be called the detective-as-crook formula and was recently brought into prominence by "The Bat." Since, in such plays, a crime must be committed and since the pursuit of the criminal must sustain the suspense, the latest trick is to have the officer of the law be shown up as the guilty one. The moral mood of "Near Santa Barbara" may be summed up by saying that a man who is not a Galahad should be shot, but that to lose one's wife's property at poker is a gentlemanly weakness.

The work of the experimental stages is refreshing and instructive even where the execution is poor and thin. Thus Mr. Butler Davenport gives a production of Oscar Wilde's "The Importance of Being Earnest" (Bramhall Playhouse) which is excessively amateurish and yet succeeds in furnishing a striking commentary upon, let us say, "The New Morality," and on the nature of comedy in general. For even in this comparatively trivial piece Wilde threw out critical perceptions on men and women and society which are as instructive as, in this form, they are amusing. Similarly the character of tragedy is illustrated by Messrs. Conroy and Meltzer's production of the Icelandic play "Eyvind of The Hills" by Johann Sigurjonsson (Greenwich Village Theater). The play is unskilfully cast, acted angularly, in an impossible tempo, and according to a wretched translation. But this is tragedy: free and noble passions strangled by mean tribal ferocities; a negligible offense against property used to destroy two beautiful spirits; the pack casting out its best to perish and regarding its shame and loss as law, order, and morality; the eternal story of "what a world we make, the oppressor and the opprest."

The decorative art of the theater may be exemplified by Miss Constance and Mr. Maxwell Armfield's "synthetic" production of "A Winter's Tale" (Little Theater), and by the Neighborhood Playhouse's "pantomime ballet" "La Boutique Fantasque." The precise meaning of "synthetic" as applied to the first of these productions is by no means clear. If it meant the externalization of an inner rhythm of mood and music that was to unify the fragmentary scenes that make the play, the experiment cannot be called successful. The frail human gaiety and pathos of the characters were, at all events, sacrificed in the process, and the lovely airs of Gluck, Scarlatti, and Purcell seemed to sustain no relation to what the eye beheld. The dancing and pantomime in "La Boutique Fantasque," on the other hand, is exquisite despite a tentativeness of execution inseparable from the work of young pupils. The staging and direction are delightfully imaginative and the rhythms of color and motion blend with the music of Rossini that is played.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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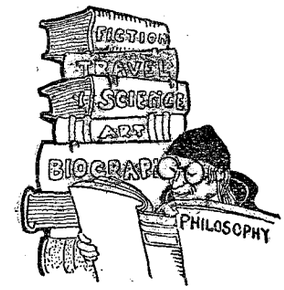

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International Relations Section

South Africa's Crisis

General Smuts Appeals for a New Party

FOLLOWING the failure of the Hereniging Congress at Bloemfontein to achieve a union between the South African and the Nationalist parties—a failure which General Smuts attributed to the adhesion of the Nationalists to a policy of secession from the British Empire—the following letter was addressed by General Smuts to the chairmen and members of the district committees of the South African Party. The text of the letter, which formed the basis for the Unionist-South African Party campaign in the general election held on February 8, is taken from the Cape *Argus* of September 30.

The Head Committee, as you already know, has decided to call a special congress of our party on Wednesday, October 27, at Bloemfontein, in order to determine what steps should be taken in consequence of what has happened at the Hereniging Congress. Here I only wish to lay stress on some points for the further information of our committees, and to impress upon them the great importance of this congress.

The Head Committee feels that the Bloemfontein Hereniging Congress marks a great turning-point in our political development, from which important results for our future will follow. After repeated and earnest attempts at the reunion of the South African and National parties it has at last become evident that such a reunion is not possible. The National Party has, through its spokesman, declared most clearly that the active propaganda for secession from the British Commonwealth must form an integral part of any political program to which it could subscribe. The S. A. P. regards such a policy as a wrong and dangerous one for our young country and people to follow, as a violation of our Constitution, as a breach of the good faith and understanding in which both European races came together to found a united South Africa, and as an effective means to force the future policy of South Africa on racial lines. The S. A. P. would be false to its past and seriously endanger the great constructive work of the last twelve years if it were to embrace such a policy.

It was hoped that the National Party, for the sake of national unity, would have been willing to waive its secession policy, but this hope has now proved vain, and thus reunion has become impossible.

Under these circumstances another way out of the present political difficulties must be sought. For some considerable time the S. A. P. has had the choice between reunion and expansion, and now that reunion has been negatived, the other alternative of expansion is left, and the decision in connection therewith must be submitted to a congress of our party. Now that the National Party has firmly resolved to continue its propaganda of fanning the fires of secession and of driving the European races apart from each other, and ultimately into conflict with each other, the moderate elements of our population have no other alternative but to draw closer to one another in order to fight that policy.

A new appeal should, therefore, be made to all right-minded South Africans, irrespective of party or race, to join a new party which will be strong enough to safeguard the permanent interests of the Union against the disruptive and destructive policy of the National Party. Such a central political party will not only continue our great work of the past, but is destined to play a weighty role in the future peaceable development of South Africa. The recent great improvement in our status and position must for the future be consolidated by peaceable means; the internal development and strengthening of South Africa must be promoted by the one and only method, and that is by cooperation in every respect between both European races; the dangers of public lawlessness and indiscipline which are threatening the old world must be kept in check in South Africa, where our position as a civilized community is exposed to special dangers.

These and other objects can best be served by a political party which declares itself against revolution or violation of the Constitution or lawlessness in any shape or form, a party which all moderate South Africans, of whatever race, can join with every confidence, a party whose high task it should be to guarantee peaceful relations with and the support of the British Commonwealth for the attainment of those great economic prospects which lie before us. There has been a general feeling of the great need for such a party. Now, on account of the failure of reunion, it has become an urgent necessity, and the time seems to have arrived for the South African Party seriously to consider her attitude toward such a party. . . .

J. C. Smuts
Chairman of the Head Committee

The Unionist Response

The Unionist Party responded promptly to General Smuts's appeal, and Sir Thomas Smartt, leader of the Unionists, issued the following call to the members and supporters of his party:

The Prime Minister has issued a call to all South Africans who desire to preserve their country from civil strife and revolution, and to maintain the Constitution against the forces of secession, to send him back to Parliament at the head of a party strong enough to insure a stable government, representative of the moderate constitutional and progressive elements of the community. Actuated by the same motives, the Unionist Party at its recent congress decided to give him its whole-hearted support. I therefore confidently appeal to all members and supporters of the Unionist Party to join the organizations which are being formed for the forthcoming election, and to give their active and energetic support to the candidates who will be selected. Congress decided that at this supreme crisis the only course open was to throw in its lot with the enlarged South African Party and thereby present a united front to a common danger. As your leader in the past I ask you unreservedly to give the same whole-hearted and loyal support to General Smuts and to the new organization that you have given to me in the past.

T. W. Smartt

Labor Stands Apart

In his manifesto to the electors, Colonel Cresswell, leader of the Labor Party, denied that any danger threatened the Constitution of the Union.

For the second time in twelve months a general election confronts you.

Be quite clear what this sudden dissolution means, and what is the real issue at the election.

In the present House the majority pledged to uphold the existing Constitution (including every member of the Labor Party) is overwhelming. No parliamentary danger threatens that Constitution.

It is not even with any prospect of increasing the number of members pledged to uphold the Constitution that this election is sprung on you. Everyone knows that the Nationalist Party is more likely to increase its representation in the country districts than the reverse. Nor is this sudden dissolution the result of a vote in the House which places any definite issue before the country on any other question. Nothing of the kind.

This election is forced on the Government by its latest recruits. That Unionist group upon which the urban electors passed judgment last March fondly hopes to emerge from the discredit into which it has justly fallen by pretending to disappear. It has

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now forced the Government to dissolve at once on the off-chance of getting back some of the urban representation it had very rightly forfeited.

Make no mistake at all.

The one and only object of this sudden election is to get rid if possible of that inconveniently considerable Labor Party which you sent to the House in March, and to get back the old Unionist profiteering crowd.

They have no room for any other party, however clear on the constitutional question, if that party is not prepared to acquiesce in the effective sway of big finance, big property, and big profits.

Good. We take up the challenge, and we will take it up again and again, however often these elections chase one another.

The Labor Party is pledged to uphold the present Constitution, but it refuses and will go on refusing, to identify the British connection and the Act of Union with the domination of our Parliament by the exploiter and profiteer.

I appeal to every man and woman who helped us last March to throw themselves now into this new election struggle. Send the Labor Party back 30 strong instead of 21, and show these people, Nationalist, S. A. P., and Unionist, that your vote last March meant you were no longer going to be led by the nose at election time as you had been in the past.

The issue today is the same as it was in March, and is even more unmistakable.

F. H. P. CRESSWELL

THE NATIONALISTS STATE THEIR CASE

Following the meeting on December 9 of the Federal Council of the Nationalist Party, General Hertzog published a manifesto stating the position of the Nationalists on imperialism and the other issues involved in the election. The text printed below is taken from the translation of the Dutch original, published in the Cape *Times* for December 10, with certain corrections afterwards made by the Nationalist Party and printed in the same paper on December 13.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE UNION: Compelled by the coalition of the South African Party and the Unionists, General Smuts will appeal to you at the polling booths in February next to grant him your confidence as the Prime Minister and ruler of the Union. The question now is whether this confidence may be placed in him. Through the fusion of the party the South African Party has openly declared common cause with Sir Thomas Smartt and his fellow Unionists. The former South African Party and the Unionists will in the future strive side by side for the maintenance and furtherance of the imperial policy which until quite recently was repudiated with abhorrence by the members of the South African Party and with indignation by the Ministers of the South African Party. Until quite recently the Unionists were the only party who openly professed the imperial policy. In the future it will be otherwise. The South African will be the only party to avow this policy. . . .

The increase of want and poverty among our people, the high cost of living, the increased cost of shop goods, the retrogression of the families of farmers, the dislocation of the exchange, the want of a market for the export of our products, the pressure of the trading classes, the lack of money and the pressure exercised by the banks—all these are questions which are most intimately connected with the policy prosecuted by the Government. Every one of these has but one cause, and the question is how far the imperialistic policy of our Government is the cause of all this. If the blame is to be attached to the imperialistic policy, then it is sufficient reason for every one of us to detest this policy, and then it is our absolute duty to reject this policy by our united strength. In the meantime, I maintain without fear or hesitation that this policy is the main cause of all our misery and retrogression, and I go further and hold that if this is not speedily put an end to, numerous persons who are today still well off will shortly be doomed to ruination. For this conviction I have every reason, and the justness thereof is warranted by the activity of the British imperialistic tradespeople and politicians to possess themselves of the monopolies of all our economic sources and means of help. . . .

In the meantime I feel it my duty, in so far as is possible, to direct the attention of the people to this movement which on account of its secret course and the object of its prosecution is nothing but a combination to bring about our economic downfall. It is all the more my duty on account of the role played by our Government in this movement as a result of its imperialistic policy. The aim and object of the combination or conspiracy is nothing less than to get us economically in their power and to bind us in such a way that for many years we will be the helpless prey of the imperial trade interests and the imperial covetousness. In order to attain their object the conspirators have already for some time been busy to prevent, with the assistance of the ministers, the exportation of our products, minerals, and raw materials to markets other than those in England. But not yet satisfied with this the imperial workers are busy taking a second and a third step which will enable them to rob us in a truly imperialistic manner. The first of the two steps consists of an endeavor to prohibit the export from or import to South Africa of goods in ships other than British (imperial). In this way the British shipping companies must be placed in possession of the shipping monopoly at the Union ports. That they have already squeezed us dry and are still engaged in robbing us, owing to the lack of competition, is naturally no scruple of conscience with these imperialistic gentlemen, but rather a source of encouragement. What would be the use of this monopoly to them if it were not for their enrichment even though it be at our cost?

But this is not all. They have another string to their bow, a string which will soon prove more fatal to our welfare than any of the others. They are busy (in the interests of the Empire of course) erecting an imperial bank. Fundamentally this bank will be nothing less than a gigantic Empire banking trust. This imperial bank will control the money and the money market of the whole Empire, and will take care that all notes of exchange within the Empire are drawn on London. In other words, this bank trust will be another monopoly which will see to it that in so far as we retain any further economic freedom, we will be financially bound and handed over to the British shipping companies, to the English manufacturer, and to the London banker. Those who follow this and figure for themselves how everything is calculated to rob us are overwhelmed by this audacity which has been disclosed by these Empire gentlemen who, with bold presumption, are out to bring about our permanent economic ruin. They may well exclaim "Live the Empire." And yet it is not for us to condemn these people unconditionally. The blame attaches not so much to them, who merely wish thereby to save and enrich themselves at our cost, as to those amongst us who are assisting them. As the British merchants are today having recourse to the above-named methods which are calculated to make us the victims of the Empire trade monopolies, they only follow the way indicated to them by the history of the British commercial policy, whereby up to 1914 they attained riches, influence, and authority which made them the skippers, the manufacturers, and the bankers of the world. Now that as a result of the war they have lost this world position, nothing is more natural than that they should again seek their salvation and riches along the way in which they previously obtained them.

By means of British legislation in their favor and to the detriment of the colonies it was then provided, among other things, (a) that all products, minerals, and raw materials produced by the colonies should go only to England and nowhere else, (b) that no materials or goods should be taken to or from the colonies except by British shipping, (c) that no factories should be erected or encouraged in the colonies. Now that the British legislator does not dare to repeat these laws, the British manufacturer and the British banker, all supported by the British Government, endeavor to obtain by subterfuge, namely, by indi-

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vidual combination and cooperation, what was formerly obtained by the above-named legislation.

The means which they adopt today for their own gain are the same which were adopted in the past for the ruin of the colonies and which forced America to take up arms against England in defense against robbery. I do not wish to blame very much either them or the British Government for the endeavor in their own interests, yet, in the name of the people of South Africa, I protest and every Afrikander of whatever race or language should also protest against the accessory part played by our Government in this combination to effect our economic ruin. Ministers whose first duty was to protect courageously the interests of our own people have been among the first to take part in the sacrifice of our interests to those who are at present robbing us. Our products, minerals, and raw materials have been promised to England by our Prime Minister and his colleagues, to the exclusion of the free markets of the world. This promise has not only been given without consulting Parliament or the people; it has been given secretly and with the deliberate object of hiding it from the people as long as possible. And when in the end the secret was disclosed by mere accident, and the Ministers concerned were called upon in Parliament to explain the matter, these Ministers had so little courage to defend their action that they did not fear to deny their participation until the proof of their intrigue was shown to them in black and white. The impropriety of this conduct on the part of the Ministers in respect of the promise cannot be denied. But the shipping monopoly and the establishment of an imperial bank trust is so much the natural result of this promise that our Government, so far as they are concerned, stand compromised as accomplices. That all this would be the inevitable result of the imperialistic policy followed by the Government for many years . . . has long been predicted, although apparently not comprehended by the people. Now, however, there is hardly anyone who does not feel it. The viciousness of this policy cannot be better exposed than by what has actually occurred as a result of the conduct of the Ministers themselves, who, while putting their policy into practice, were forced to resort to secrecy, and who at the disclosure took refuge in denial. And yet it is on this policy that the same Ministers are now coming to you to ask your confidence, both in them and in their policy. Will you give them that confidence? And, if so, on what grounds? That they are imperialists who, for the sake of the Empire or for that of their own pockets, would sacrifice South Africa, we have reason to believe. . . .

Among the many dishonest, insincere attempts which are made in this direction, I wish to draw attention to two, and in so doing to prevent people from succeeding in their exertions and zeal to distract your attention from the actual force of the struggle with a view to centering it elsewhere. It is alleged by the opposition that the election will decide the question whether we want a republic now or not. With all due respect to these gentlemen, the Prime Minister included, this is not the issue and will not be the issue in the next election, at least not so far as the Nationalist Party is concerned. If General Smuts (and the South African Party) already desires a republic now and wishes the people to decide thereon, then it is his affair, and he can request the people to empower him to proclaim a republic. But I and the Nationalist Party are not in the least concerned with this appeal. As General Smuts admitted in the course of an address in Pretoria on Friday, December 3, the ideal of the Nationalist Party is sovereign independence at the right time.

As according to our opinion the right time has not arrived, yet the Nationalist Party has the right, without in the least resigning its desire for freedom, to say that it does not wish to bring the matter to a vote at the next elections, and this is exactly what the Nationalist Party has decided to do. As far as that party is concerned it will surrender nothing of its endeavor to obtain independence, but it will not appeal to the people at these elections for authority for a republic. What it has decided to do is to request the people for authority to succeed a government party which has neglected its duties towards the interests of the people, and which has brought the country to the verge of bankruptcy. . . .

The second attempt which is being made to divert the attention of the electors from the actual issue at the coming election is the mean imputation that the Nationalist Party is a racial party which is endeavoring to create unpleasantness for the English-speaking people in South Africa, or which grudges them the same rights, privileges, or liberties in common with the Dutch-speaking section.

Those who declare this are either speaking falsely or with intent to mislead, or they are the dupes of a deliberate campaign of slander and deception against what the Nationalist Party has had to fight from the very hour of its inception. I call this imputation dishonorable, no matter from whom it emanates, and this because of its malevolent untruth and its unmistakably evil purpose—namely, to antagonize the Dutch and English. The position which the Nationalist Party takes up, and on which its whole existence is based, and the fundamental reason of its republican movement, is the equality of the British and Dutch in South Africa. Because this equality could not be obtained under the old South African Party Government, the Nationalist Party was called into existence, and because in the opinion of the Nationalists this equality will not be obtained as long as the British connection continues to exist, the Nationalist Party has adopted as its practical ideal the severance of the connection. From the desire for equality the Nationalist Party originated, through the desire for equality it is now driven to strive for freedom, and with this desire for equality it is also firmly resolved to tread the path of the future. The equality between the British and the Dutch is not only an election cry for the present; it is also the soul of the party's origin and existence. . . . As far as the Nationalist Party is concerned I have a right to say, and I say it in all honesty and sincerity, that its aim is still the same as it was at the commencement, namely, to insure the prosperity and happiness for South Africa by equality in the exercise of our rights and the enjoyment of our liberties in which, without the equality, we can never share, whether it be the Dutchman or the Englishman who is the victim. . . .

The Government in Its Own Defense

At a meeting of the South African Party Club on December 13, General Smuts took up in detail the charges against the Government contained in General Hertzog's manifesto. Part of his speech, as reproduced in the Cape *Times* for December 14, follows:

Let me come to General Hertzog's great indictment of our economic policy. He says that the imperialistic policy of the Government has brought the country to the verge of bankruptcy, and brought wanton poverty among the people. What are the facts? Assuming that I and my other colleagues who served under General Botha are to be held responsible for the policy since Union, we find the following outstanding facts between 1910 and 1919: The Union increased its imports by roughly 14 millions sterling, and its exports by 37 millions sterling. The total import and export trade per head of the white population rose from £72 per annum in 1910 to £96 per head per annum in 1919. The Post Office Savings Bank deposits increased by approximately 2¼ millions sterling. The value of the goods manufactured in the Union increased by about £45,000,000. The deposits in the private banks went up by leaps and bounds. How the country has been impoverished when such increases have been shown we confess we do not know. And what about the farmers in 1914? The exports of the produce of the land totaled £9,090,442, and in 1919 they were valued at £32,820,388, an expansion of nearly £23,800, which scarcely spells agricultural "retrogression." In the same period there was a big drop in the imports of articles of food and drink, so that the agriculturists not only vastly increased their exports but sold more stuff within South Africa as well. Thus the general charge of

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"ruining" the country economically is obviously absurd. Nobody who has the faintest regard for facts can believe it for a moment. . . .

When General Hertzog comes down from vague and general abuse to specific charges against the economic policy of the Government, he mentions three facts as showing our imperialistic policy. Let me deal with these three facts seriatum. In the first place he says that South Africa's trade and resources are to be handed over to Great Britain to be exploited for the benefit of England. The main clause in his indictment is this: "Our products and raw materials have been promised to England by our Prime Minister and his colleagues, to the exclusion of the free markets of the world. This promise has not only been given without consulting Parliament or the people; it has been given secretly, and with the deliberate object of hiding it from the people as long as possible." Now this wonderful discovery is simply a mare's nest. The tremendous charge upon which the Nationalists fancy they can overthrow me is based upon a resolution passed at the last Imperial Conference, which formed the text of several Hertzogites during the last session of Parliament.

That resolution reads as follows: "The Conference agrees that it is necessary to secure for the British Empire and the belligerent Allies the command of certain raw materials in order to enable them to repair the effects of the war as soon as possible and to safeguard their industrial requirements. The Conference is of opinion that the governments of the British Empire should make such arrangements among themselves as will insure that these essential raw materials produced within the Empire shall be available for the above purpose."

Now it is perfectly clear from the terms of this resolution that no promise was ever made that our raw materials should exclusively go to England and forego the benefits of a free market. In every case arrangements have to be made between the Dominions and the Allied country which wanted the raw materials. No such arrangements have ever been made in regard to South Africa. Our producers, therefore, have always been free to sell their produce in whatever market and at whatever price they liked. Even when the Government offered to assist in the sale of their wool to the British Government the woolgrowers were in the position to decline to do so and to sell to other purchasers, and deeply they regret today they did not accept the advice of the Union Government. . . .

The fact of the matter is that the Nationalists made all the political capital they could make out of the subject six months or more ago and were completely routed in the debates. If we were bound by secret promises to deliver our products to England how comes it that in 1919 the Union exported to foreign countries outside the British Empire products valued at £14,887,596? How did it manage to sell to the United States in that year alone goods valued at £7,961,115 and to Japan material worth £3,799,613, to say nothing of large quantities to Belgium, France, and Holland, and so on? And how is it that a Union government commission is today in Germany for the express purpose of arranging for the sale of South African products in Central Europe? The fact is that there is not a tittle of truth or substance in this charge of economic imperialism which General Hertzog makes against the Government. Everybody knows that we have had a perfectly free market, with the whole world, except the enemy countries, during the war, and now since the war we have a free market with the whole world.

The next charge is that a British shipping combine has and will continue to have complete control of the external transport of South Africa. How General Hertzog comes to formulate this as a charge against the Government I fail to understand. It is admitted that our shipping is controlled by a combine, and has so been controlled for many years; but this is a misfortune which we share with many other countries, both inside and outside of the British Empire. Will General Hertzog deny that all the world knows that the shipping of practically every country in the world is today controlled by one or other combine? Whether we look to Europe or Asia or America; whether we look to empires or kingdoms or republics, we see the same grave situation everywhere. A limited number of shipping combines is in control of the marine transportation of practically the whole world. We have done our best to fight this evil in South Africa. We have passed legislation against it, and we shall continue to fight it; but if we fail, as every other Government has failed all over the world, it is idle to make a charge of imperialism against us, and General Hertzog knows perfectly well that a Nationalist Government would be in no better position to solve this question for South Africa. That quarter from which he expects salvation is itself to my best information working in complete understanding with the English combine.

The third and last charge of economic imperialism which General Hertzog makes against us is that there is going to be created a central imperial bank for the whole Empire which will control our South African credit also. I rubbed my eyes when I saw the statement. It is perfect news to me, and even after repeated inquiries in well-informed quarters I have not been able to find anybody who knows about this imperial bank. It appears that an English banker has read a paper at a congress on the subject of a new banking system for the Empire which will do away with the present exchange difficulties. This paper met with some comments and criticisms in the press, but there is nothing official in the proposals that I know of. It expresses the individual opinions of one banker, and I am sure it has not received the serious consideration of a single government in the whole of the British Empire. So I still do not know at what particular windmill General Hertzog is here tilting. He could not, of course, refer to our own new Central Reserve Bank which received the blessing of the Nationalist Party in Parliament, and is a purely South African institution, the control of which is entirely local. . . .

At the first campaign meeting under the auspices of the combined election committees of the South African and the former Unionist parties, Colonel Reitz, a South African Party member of Parliament, attacked the Nationalists and charged that the issue of the campaign was "secession and racialism and not the brand new economic bogies which General Hertzog had raised." As proof, he read a translation of a document which he alleged was part of a minute of the Nationalist head committee. The text of the translation appeared in the Cape *Times* of December 15.

The head committee to decide to drop the republic for the time being and contest the election on the economic issue, so as to cut the ground out from under the feet of the Government. We are going to the people, and we will tell them that for the moment we have nothing to do with the republican question. We will never drop the republic, but we will tell them the time is not ripe at present and so we are going to make much of the economic question. We will tell the farmers that it is the fault of Smuts that the farmer cannot borrow a single sovereign from the Land Bank and cannot get a market for his wool, and we will tell them that the whole blame for the bad financial conditions of the country is due to Jan Smuts and his English friends.

The Nationalist Declaration of Independence

The secessionist issue having been forced into the foreground of the campaign, the Nationalist Party on December 15 published an official declaration "regarding the constitutional relations between the Union and the United Kingdom and regarding the Nationalist standpoint and action in connection therewith."

1. Every nation has through the providence of the Almighty an inborn and inalienable right to develop itself, and through the necessary measure of civilization to obtain its sovereign independence, and thus to become of age.

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2. The only one highest freedom for a nation which is of age is its own freedom, that is to say, the right to fix its own form of government and if need be to modify or alter it.

3. A nation has, therefore, not really become of age unless it enjoys sovereign independence, separated from any other nation.

4. The United Kingdom, having become wise as the result of the American War of Independence and acting on principle No. 1, has acknowledged for more than eighty years the right of a self-governing British Colony (and, therefore, so much the more of the Dominions) to separate in a peaceful and constitutional way from the United Kingdom.

In the words of the British Minister, Mr. Bonar Law, the British connection does not depend on England, but on the will and the wish of the Dominion itself.

5. It is therefore quite natural and strictly constitutional for any citizen of the Union to strive for a sovereign independent Union of South Africa, altogether separated from the United Kingdom or the British Empire, and to convince his fellow-citizens or try to convince his fellow-citizens of the desirability thereof.

6. It is an historical, irrefragable fact, acknowledged even by General Smuts, that Afrikanderdom—or at least the mass of the Afrikander people—has cherished for 120 years the sovereign independence of South Africa as a national ideal. If such an ideal is taken away or hushed, or the realization thereof is simply left to the course of circumstances—that is, purely to chance—then of necessity it has a killing effect on the people and great moral damage is done to it.

7. The will and desire of the Dominion of South Africa must be expressed freely and without hindrance in the recognized constitutional and political manner—i. e., by the enfranchised citizens of the Union. Common-sense and statesmanship indicate that the question of separation (secession) must not be hurried or forced, but that, when the proper time arrives, this question shall be specially referred to the people—this question alone, without the addition of any other question, in order that the voters may express themselves on the matter and give their decision at the polls specially and only on this matter. If a decided majority of the voters expresses itself in favor of separation, then it can be said with equity that the Dominion desires it.

8. The right of secession is an ever-existing and lasting right until separation has finally been achieved.

9. Self-determination is the right to fix one's own form of government, and in the case of the Union, this is merely another word for the right of separation or secession. It is evident that these rights in the most instances, if not in every case, must lead to sovereign independence.

10. Our Union is now, in theory at least, absolutely and in every way on the same footing as the United Kingdom. In practice and reality this equality has so far not yet been achieved. But in any case it is clear that the unwritten British Constitution, according to which the British Parliament acts (and the British Parliament passed our written Constitution of the Union as an ordinary British act) grants us this equality.

11. The creator is greater than the creature. Therefore, because we are British subjects, and we are a Dominion, the British Constitution gives us the right of self-determination, separation or secession, and acknowledges our equality with the "Motherland."

12. It is, therefore, absurd to say that our written Constitution (created by the British Parliament) will be violated (not even to mention the fact that the Union Constitution provides for its own alteration).

13. The British people can undoubtedly alter its Constitution as it wishes, and has also done so in the past. A constitutional monarch is one who carries out the wishes of his people.

14. If we, therefore, have equality with England, then, without taking into consideration the already long existent rights of secession, the King must, as a constitutional king, carry out the wish of the people of the Union, even if that desire is that the people of the Union no longer wish to have a king.

15. Further, as we are on an equal footing with the United Kingdom, it follows that we are fit to obtain and enjoy sovereign independence. It is absurd to state in one and the same breath that we enjoy equality with England, but that we are unfit and unqualified for sovereign independence.

16. The objection that the Union of 1910 was a holy alliance between Boer and Briton does not hold. It was simply an unification of four already existing British Colonies, and the motive was mainly economical difficulties. . . .

17. Pending the realization of our national ideal, namely, sovereign independence for South Africa, separated from the United Kingdom and the British Empire, we must take steps to gain equality with England in every practical manner and in reality.

18. There are only two ways, as the famous Joseph Chamberlain said. The Dominions and the United Kingdom must either separate from each other altogether, or otherwise be brought closer and be bound together. There is no middle course. The position cannot be a stationary one.

19. Huge, flattering, and subtle efforts are being made to draw us closer together. The danger of this must be clear to the population of the Union. The "see-the-war-through" policy taught us a bitter lesson. No, the Dutch Afrikander says: "We choose Chamberlain's alternative of total secession."

20. Therefore, we must be careful not to do anything by means of negotiations with England, or in connection with imperial or other conferences, or in any other manner, which will in any way bind or retard our free sovereign national desire in the Union. The sovereignty of the wishes of our people must remain unattacked and inviolate.

21. In principle we have absolute equality with England (the United Kingdom). That is fixed and no imperial conference or constitution is necessary to confirm or to explain or promote it. Nothing further is necessary but our practical action here in the Union to make that equality real. Therefore there is, as far as we are concerned, no necessity for the Imperial Conference of 1921. . . .

22. Pending secession we must contrive to become as independent as possible economically. We are deeply affected by the exchange and other financial disadvantages under which England has suffered and is still suffering, because she has ever been the avenue and clearing house through which all our business with the world passed.

23. No constitution is a law of the Medes and Persians and unalterable. A constitution is made for a people and not a people for a constitution. No nation has vindicated this principle more than the British nation itself.

With reference to the accusations which have been leveled against the Nationalist Party, especially in view of the forthcoming elections, the Federal Council declares:

(a) That it is absolutely untrue that the Nationalist Party has altered its attitude with regard to independence and secession.

(b) That it is just as untrue that the Nationalist Party stands for the immediate secession of the Union.

(c) That it has been authoritatively declared repeatedly by the Nationalist Party that the realization of the right of secession or separation must be based on the broad basis of the wishes of the people, as it has declared, inter alia, under No. 7.

(d) That it is absolutely untrue that the Nationalist Party is a racial party. . . .

(e) That there are numerous English and English-speaking members among the members of the Nationalist Party, especially on the Witwaterstrand.

(f) That the Nationalist Party has ever striven and always will strive for the reunion of the Afrikanders, who have been rent asunder in an unnatural way, without doing damage to the principle that anyone who accepts our principles and South Africa as his fatherland is welcome to join us.

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(g) That it is a distortion of the truth that the Nationalist Party strives for a Dutch or racial republic. Our leaders have repeatedly explained that both sections will enjoy equal rights.

(h) That it is untrue that the Hereniging Congress failed on any other point than the refusal of the South African Party to acknowledge the right of secession and to retain independence as a principle or to regard it as a practical ideal.

(i) That it is absurd to assert that the Union already possesses sovereign independence, or that it can attain it as a part of the British Empire.

The Federal Council further warns against the following dangers, which are growing, now that the Unionists as members of the new South African Party, even more so than previously, and within the ranks of the new South African Party, can make themselves felt:

1. Closer union with the United Kingdom and the British Empire.
2. State or state-aided immigration to swamp the Dutch vote.
3. Taxation of land.
4. More taxation for the farmer.
5. Larger subsidies to the British fleet.
6. Continuance of the reckless financial and the general economic policy of the present Government, which is wrong.
7. The detrimental influences of capitalism and gold and diamond magnates under this Government, through which our country has become an area for exploitation for foreign interests.
8. The squandering of money in connection with the Department of Defence, and the misuse of the defence force to denationalize our sons.

On account of all these reasons the Federal Council of the Nationalist Party appeals to everyone who loves South Africa to deal the death blow to the ruinous policy of the Government at the forthcoming elections; to prevent a considerable portion of the Dutch Afrikanders from being subjected for good and all to the disadvantageous influences of the Unionists.

On behalf of the Federal Council of the Nationalist Party.

J. B. M. Hertzog, Chairman.
C. W. Malan, Secretary.

A New Party

During the campaign a new party was organized by certain dissatisfied members of the Labor Party and called the South African Liberal-Labor Party. At the time of its formation one of its founders described the aims of the party in the following terms:

It is our intention to contest every seat in the industrial centers of the Western Province if possible. We consider the attitude of Colonel Cresswell and his followers . . . such as to justify us in leaving the old party and establishing a new democratic organization whose main platform is anti-republican. We shall support Smuts in every possible way to maintain the position South Africa has gained amongst the nations of the world which count, but shall reserve our independence on local questions. . . .

Another bone of contention [with the Labor Party] is the color bar. We entirely disagree with the Labor people of the north over that and consider that the Cape colored people should have full privileges in every respect. Again, it is very evident that a section of Colonel Cresswell's party would not hesitate to advance the doctrines of bolshevism and would join the Republican Party tomorrow if they thought for one moment that General Hertzog had any hope of success at the forthcoming polls. . . .

The new party hoped to include in its membership the liberal group in the Unionist Party led by Mr. Morris Alexander, Unionist member of Parliament, who had previously made a statement indicating the interest of his group in a new democratic party.

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Two Sections

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Section II

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American Commission on Conditions in Ireland

Fourth Report:—Hearings in Washington, D. C., December 10 and 15, 1920

Testimony of Miss Mary MacSwiney (concluded), John Tangney, Mrs. Anna Murphy, John Joseph Caddan, Daniel Galvin, and Miss Ruth Russell

THE MURDER OF LORD MAYOR MACCURTAIN

CHAIRMAN HOWE. At the suggestion of Senator Norris, we have asked Miss MacSwiney to make a statement relative to the Mayor MacCurtain matter. Miss MacSwiney was at the inquest, we understand.

Q. MR. D. F. MALONE. Will you now please describe the conditions of Mayor MacCurtain's murder, the situation of his family, anything leading up to his murder, and state briefly the testimony you heard given at the inquest? A. Lord Mayor MacCurtain had a wife and five children, the eldest of whom was ten years of age when he was murdered. I may say that five months after his death his wife gave birth to twins who were dead when they were born. He was a man of a very sweet disposition, always a pleasant laugh and kind word, even to those with whom he differed most, politically. He was also a shrewd business man. He did his best to smooth over matters in Cork when Mr. Redmond caused a sort of split in the Volunteer movement. He, of course, remained on the right side, and he did a great deal to avoid any bitterness. He was a particular friend of my brother for years. They had been associated in the Gaelic League movement and in the industrial movement, but whereas my brother never joined the Sinn Fein group, Mr. MacCurtain did. He joined the Arthur Griffiths movement. But of course there is no such thing now as the constitutional Sinn Fein. But when in 1905 the movement was first started, it was a constitutional movement, and Mr. MacCurtain belonged to it. I did not know him then. But my brother never belonged to it.

Mayor MacCurtain, like my brother, had spent most of his time in prison. He was not in prison so much or so long; but in 1916 he was in prison with him until Christmas. In 1917 he was deported, and they returned home to Cork at the same time. I do not think he was arrested in October, 1917, the time of my brother's first hunger strike. But he was arrested in 1917, in February, and they were in and out of prison like that. It is a sort of natural thing to be spending half of your time in prison. He was continually on the run. Mr. MacCurtain had a flour and mill business. He dealt wholesale and his business was injured by his frequent imprisonments. But when he came out of prison in 1918 he started his factory. Of course he was always interested in the development everywhere of Irish industries. And he started an industry and got some machines together, and employed a number of people for the manufacture of underclothing. That was going ahead splendidly when he was made Lord Mayor. And of course he was only inaugurated a very short time when he was murdered. Mr. MacCurtain was made Lord Mayor in January, after the municipal elections, which resulted in large Sinn Fein majorities all over the country.

Q. COMMISSIONER NORRIS. January of what year? A. January, 1920. The councilors were elected to the corporation, and then the new corporation elected the Lord Mayor. He was unanimously chosen. The first thing that the new corporation did was to declare allegiance to Dail Eireann. The keeping of that resolution declaring allegiance to Dail Eireann, which is the Irish Parliament, was one of the charges brought against my brother when he was tried in the August following. Mayor MacCurtain and the corporation determined that economy should be practiced in the city. Wherever you have a society like ours, a social system where you have an alien people imposing its will on the nation, you have a great deal of inefficiency—worthless people pressing you for jobs. The new Republican organization made up its mind that this inefficiency should be destroyed forever. The salary of the Lord Mayor was £600 a year. That is not a very large amount, and it is not as big as it looks, because I think about one-half of it had to go to certain charities. But the new council decided that that should go, as the first step in the direction of economy. The Lord Mayor also did a great deal in the way of entertainment, and always began the year with what was known as the Lord Mayor's banquet. It was decided that that should go, and there should be no extravagance whatever. Everything necessary for the life of the citizens should be done. But it was not thought necessary for the Lord Mayor and his friends to sit around a table eating their fill and drinking. They also gave pleasing proof that they meant what they said, and that they were not out to make things easy for themselves financially. Another rule was that the members of the corporation and above all the Lord Mayor were expected to attend to their duties. Some Lord Mayors had gone to the city hall to perform their duties perhaps three or four hours out of the week. The new Lord Mayor undertook to do differently. It was rather destructive of the Lord Mayor's business, but they determined that was what had to be done.

Q. So that they cut his salary and increased his work? A. Yes, I should like to stress the wonderfully good influence that Lord Mayor MacCurtain had on the Unionist members of the corporation. They expected to have a very bad time of it. They found that they got just as good treatment as his colleagues. There were two representatives of the Federation of Discharged Soldiers and Sailors. Owing to the very large number of men that Cork had in the English army before and during the war, these men were able under the proportional representation system to send two members to the corporation. It did not follow as a matter of fact that they were anti-Irish—as a fact, they were not; but they wanted to get what they wanted for the former soldiers and sailors from the Republican Government. They expected to have a very bad time from the Government that was opposed to the English army. As a matter of fact, they did not. They found out that they were accepted as good citizens, and expected to cooperate for the good of the whole population. All these classes of the population were greatly touched by the attitude of the Lord Mayor and the other members of the corporation toward them. And they showed it, and I don't believe there could have been a better example of that than the way the whole of Cork rallied around the Lord Mayor at the time of his death. There was a special meeting of the

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corporation called on the day of his death, and every Unionist member spoke; and I may as well tell you that at that meeting one of the bitterest anti-Irish and pro-Unionist people in the corporation actually cried when he was seconding the vote of sympathy to Mrs. MacCurtain and the condemnation of the cruel action. At that time, of course, there was no question as to who had committed the murder. There was a general outburst of feeling on the part of the whole city. I could read you many examples of the nice things that were said about him by the Unionists. Some of us had the idea that it was because of the rapidity with which he was winning over the hearts of the Unionists and impressing upon them the fact that they were all Irishmen together and should work for Ireland's good, and the fact that he was such a thoroughly practical business man—you see, I am stressing that because we are called and have been called for years impractical idealists—we have lovely theories, but we have no practical conception of business matters at all; that we have no idea of how to run a state or run a city, and that we are always up in the moon. But Lord Mayor MacCurtain had such a practical grasp of business matters that he opened the eyes of a great many people who had never come into personal contact with Irish Republican people before. He had practically within a month converted the whole corporation into Republicans. Even the resolution of the corporation pledging allegiance to Dail Eireann practically got no opposition. . . .

Q. Miss MacSwiney, you started to say something about the belief that Mayor MacCurtain's efficiency and his popularity and his ability to win over the Unionists of the opposition was a significant reason for his death? A. That, of course, couldn't be proved, but it is very reasonable to suppose. But he, of course, had been on the run, although he had been sleeping at home—a great deal more than some of the others like my brother. He happened to be home on the night of the 19th of March, 1920. A knock came at the door between one and a quarter-past or one and half-past, anyway, in the morning. As usual, they came to the conclusion that it was the military or the police, and he wanted to go down, but his wife would not let him. She put her head out of the window and asked, "Who is there?" and the answer came back, "Come down quick." The plan is, of course, not to let the men go down and open the door, for they would be shot on the spot; so usually the women go down and open the door to let the man escape if possible. Before she got downstairs, the door was smashed in. About six men smashed their way in, and two of them gripped her and pushed her up against the wall, and one of them said, "Hold that woman!" And the others rushed upstairs.

I want you to know this thing: They went immediately to Mr. MacCurtain's room. That is remarkable in a house like MacCurtain's, where the steps are very peculiarly placed. They made no hesitation. They went straight to his room and called, "Come out, Curtain." Mrs. MacCurtain, who was downstairs, heard the baby cry, and she begged to go upstairs and bring the baby down. Then the shots rang out, as soon as they had yelled out, "Come out, Curtain." He came to the door, and they shot him. The baby then ceased to cry—perhaps it was taken by its aunt; and the poor mother thought that the baby was shot, too. She was in a fainting condition. Meanwhile the six men came downstairs and went out. The sister upstairs had run to the rescue of the Lord Mayor, only to find out that he was bleeding and in a dying condition. Mrs. MacCurtain ran out of the house crying, "For God's sake, a priest and a doctor!"

The main thing brought out at the inquest is that Lord Mayor MacCurtain was murdered at quarter past one; that there were shots fired from outside the house when the brother put his head out and called for help; that there is a police barracks within fifty yards from the house; that nobody in those barracks could possibly help hearing those shots, but that not a policeman appeared from those barracks until 8 o'clock in the morning.

Q. Was it not also brought out at the inquest that the records of the goings and comings of police had not been kept for a week or two before and after the shooting? A. Yes, on the night of the 10th of March there had been shots fired at a policeman. We had a night of terror in the city. They shot people of the city. They went looking for men on the run who would have been shot like Mr. MacCurtain if they had been found. They ran amuck, as we say. And then they went back to their barracks. Of course, the rules of the barracks are that every time ammunition is taken or a gun is taken off the racks in the barracks it must be put down in the books. No account whatever was put down for the taking of guns and ammunition on the 10th of March. It was acknowledged that the police did go out that night and did shootings, and it is acknowledged that no record whatever was kept.

Q. This was the week before the shooting of the Lord Mayor? A. Yes, it was the 10th, a week before.

Q. COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. That was after an attempt to shoot a policeman. Was one of them killed? A. No, one was wounded, but no one killed.

Q. Was the shooting of the Lord Mayor a reprisal for the shooting of that policeman? A. I think the police were anxious to make it appear so, but, of course, they never acknowledged that it was done by them; they tried to pretend that it was not done by the police, but the evidence was irrefutable.

THE END OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Q. COMMISSIONER NORRIS. This idea has come to me, not only in the case of the murder of Lord Mayor MacCurtain, but in other cases where Black and Tans had broken into houses in the night. Why is it that these people whom they come to kill do not defend themselves? They certainly would have a good opportunity to shoot people coming into their houses. For instance, why did not the Lord Mayor, coming out of his room as he did, shoot them? A. Because they do not have any arms in the house. . . . At that time they had not begun to shoot down unarmed men. It was the first time. To be exact, the shooting of two unarmed men the week before, on the 10th of March, was the first event of that kind. From that time on no man ventured to sleep in his house without arms, as I have told you that when my brother did sleep at home with his guard both were armed, and on the two occasions when we had an alarm at the door they were prepared to sell their lives dearly. But that was after the murder of Lord Mayor MacCurtain.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. Excuse me a moment. You said at the time of Lord Mayor MacCurtain's death you had reached the stage of armed warfare. Do you mean that up to that time the campaign was one of passive resistance and not of open warfare? A. No, we do not make the claim of passive resistance after 1916. Up to 1916 it was passive resistance. After that time it was not. What I mean is that while the Volunteers carried arms and were compelled to defend themselves against open force, we had not reached the stage where the British Government was ordering shootings and raids and the killing of unarmed men at sight. Therefore, the men staying at home did not carry arms.

Q. My impression of the Irish situation is that you had an open revolution in 1916, and then you later proceeded to hold elections and get an evidence of the unmistakable desire of the people of Ireland to have applied to them the principle of self-determination; and the evidence of the election proved that you wanted that principle applied to you as well as to any other country. And that you then proceeded to do all of the things necessary to set up a republican form of government without bloodshed, without any war, without murders, and without any policy of destruction of human life; and that that policy was rigidly carried out until such time as the English Government began to send soldiers and Black and Tans into Ireland and began to interfere with the functioning of that government which you had previously established. Is my idea right or wrong? A. It is absolutely right, Senator, if you take it that we have never said that we would have nothing but passive resistance. Never, up to the time that the campaign of the

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enemy began, and became so hot against us, was there any offensive, any shooting on our part. You are quite right that we wanted to get our government going. If our courts had been allowed to meet in peace, and we had been allowed to carry on the municipal government of the country, we would have been quite willing to do that and build our country up, and then have turned to clearing the enemy out, peaceably if possible.

Q. Up to that time you had a bloodless revolution. You had by the ballot box and by talk and discussion brought about the revolution about as effectively as if there had been bloodshed. You had established a form of government, and had done everything you could to drive off the old government without the shedding of blood. So that so far there was no force and no armed activity. But did any Irish Volunteers or anybody else murder any policemen or anybody else up to the time of the murder of Mayor MacCurtain? A. Oh, we destroyed police barracks and things like that.

Q. When? A. In 1916.

Q. I am asking you if there came a time when you had without bloodshed and without force and arms established a functioning government, and whether that was by peaceful methods? A. There was no warfare at all until after 1916, when they began to interfere with our government.

THE BEGINNING OF OPEN WARFARE

Q. COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. When did the open warfare begin, after the Easter revolution of 1916? What was the overt act which started things? A. The extraordinary activity of the English secret service. When they started to get information about our people and running them down and gathering information about our courts. I cannot say the exact date. I want to be scrupulously exact, and do not want to make a mistake. With us the whole question was what was best for the movement. We had no scruples against open warfare if it was necessary to get independence for Ireland. But we did not want war. We put it off as long as possible. It may have been 1919 before the warfare began. I am inclined to think it was before the burning of police barracks. I want to be very exact on details, and I cannot tell you the exact date on which we began to burn police barracks.

COMMISSIONER THOMAS. Please state some specific instances.

THE WITNESS. Well, first of all, there was the arrest of the Sinn Fein members.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. Of Parliament? A. Yes, of Parliament. They put all the Sinn Fein members in jail, but that did not matter, because the remainder were Republicans, and they were able to carry on. But in one case, take the Galway county council, they arrested all the Sinn Feiners, and with the rest they could do what they liked, and called it the Galway county council. And again, they hampered the courts. They know the courts gave a greater impression in England than anything else. You know the daily papers gave case after case where before you had the police courts you now have the Sinn Fein courts giving judgments that the people eagerly accept.

Q. COMMISSIONER THOMAS. Did they begin to obliterate these courts before the violence began? A. They did it not openly at first, but secretly.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. You were enumerating the things that you said provoked the Irish people to give up in part or surrender in part their policy of passive resistance, and you named the arrest of the leaders and the breaking up of the courts. Now, what other things? A. The system of espionage which made it impossible for our civic leaders to carry out any work for the good of the country without being spied on by the English police, and being arrested or shot in consequence. The system of spying that was carried on, and the fact that it was impossible for our people to carry on the government for the good of the country, brought the first trouble. All that I would like to look up—dates and facts—and give them in writing to the Commission.

Q. COMMISSIONER NORRIS. I hope in doing that you will not think that the American people consider that the Irish people have to wait until they are obliterated and put in prison before they are justified in putting up a resistance and fighting. Personally, I am called a great pacifist, and I have suffered a great deal of abuse on the subject. I asked you the question about Lord Mayor MacCurtain. It seems to me that if I had been him I would have shot those men. I would have tried to see how many of the other fellows I could have laid out first, before they got me. A. Perhaps that is the best answer I can give to your question: Up to the time that Lord Mayor MacCurtain was shot there had been none of our unarmed leaders shot in their homes.

Q. But there was a policeman shot nine days before? A. Yes, but he was not unarmed. You understand, please, Miss Addams, that all the policemen are fully armed.

MR. D. F. MALONE. They were not all shot by Republican sympathizers, either.

THE WITNESS. No, indeed, they were not.

THE TESTIMONY AT THE MACCURTAIN INQUEST

CHAIRMAN HOWE. Now, we will go back to the inquest.

THE WITNESS. I think the knowledge that the police were responsible for the murder of Lord Mayor MacCurtain was pretty generally known among Republicans on the morning of his death, but it had not got to be generally accepted as the opinion of the whole city until the inquest began. The inquest took a very long time. The principal witnesses were those who testified to the holding up of civilians from entering the zone that was formed by the police around the Lord Mayor's house. A lamplighter testified to the fact that he was held up on a road which leads from King Street to the hill road, that is, the road on which we live. That particular band was supposed to be waiting for my brother. They did not know that he was home that night, and they were not searching the house. But it was thought that as soon as Mrs. MacCurtain knew that her husband was murdered she would send instantly for my brother, and perhaps one or two others, and they would have the opportunity of shooting them, too. However, this lamplighter was stopped on York Hill, and they sent him back another road. Another man named Desmond, a lamplighter also, had parted from the first lamplighter named Thompson. He had a brother who was also a lamplighter, and their general plan was to wait for each other on the corner of King Street (since then, I can tell you, called MacCurtain Street), that they could go home together to the south side of the city. He got there first that night, and stood on the porch of the Coliseum Theater, exactly opposite the police barracks. He had been standing there for a quarter of an hour when he saw this band of armed men coming down York Hill—the foot of York Hill, to be precise, eight or ten yards from the door of the King Street police barracks. They came down York Hill in single file. They walked very quietly. They must have had rubber soles on their shoes. Each man was dressed as the murderers were dressed, with rain coats mostly, some dark and some drab. He could not say what they had on their heads. But they came down the hill in single file. They went up the steps of the police barracks. They carried revolvers down by their sides. They walked with the steps of soldiers, for policemen in Ireland are always drilled like soldiers. They tapped lightly on the door of the police barracks, and the door was opened instantly, and they went inside immediately. No light was shown. He thought that something was up, and he went home without waiting for his brother, as fast as he could. He came forward very bravely and gave evidence at the inquest. And an attempt was made on his life during the inquest, but did not succeed. That was about twenty minutes to two. Another man, a postman, saw that same body of men file down from the police barracks about one o'clock.

Q. What time was Mayor MacCurtain killed? A. About quarter-past or half-past one, I cannot say exactly.

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Q. So that a file of men were seen to leave the police barracks about a quarter of an hour previously? A. Yes. But they did not come back all together at the same time. With the number who held up the roads and so forth, there must have been a large number of men engaged.

Q. Was there evidence that roads were held up? A. Yes.

Q. How many roads? A. On one road six men were held up and stood with their backs to the wall. And on another road another man was stood up by these same men with long coats and soft, dark hats. And the third road was held up by policemen in uniform. They prevented men from passing Lord Mayor MacCurtain's house.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. What reason did they give for holding up these men? A. They asked them what business they had on the streets then.

Q. Was this before or after the mayor was murdered? A. While he was being murdered.

One man who was held up by the policemen in uniform was prevented from passing Lord Mayor MacCurtain's house, and was sent down a road which led out by a church beyond Lord Mayor MacCurtain's house. He looked back, and the police shouted, "Go on and keep your eyes before you." The first time he looked back he saw four policemen standing at Lord Mayor MacCurtain's house. His house was only a few doors beyond, and just as he got there he heard three shots ring out.

Q. COMMISSIONER WOOD. Was all this evidence at the inquest? A. Yes, every bit of it was sworn evidence at the inquest. I don't know whether you think it relevant, but at half-past two that morning officers and soldiers came to raid the Lord Mayor's house. There were policemen outside. But this night the policemen refused to enter the house. The rule was that the policemen searched the house while the military remained on guard. This night the officers searched the house and saw the dead man lying there and the women weeping.

A question was asked in the House of Commons the day after the murder. Mr. Ian MacPherson, who was Chief Secretary at that time, was asked why they so cruelly sent a military party to search a house where a man was lying dead. And the answer Mr. MacPherson gave was that the military party had been sent to Mayor MacCurtain's house to find out clews to the murder. General Strickland, the military commander who had sent that military party, said the next day that when the officers had come to the house, they had no idea of the murder; and he did not know of it until the officers got back and reported.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. So that the claim of the Irish Republic sympathizers is that the police sent this military party to show that they had no knowledge of the murder? A. Well, my personal opinion is that the military did not know it.

Q. But the police? A. The police and the military at that time were separate bodies. They are together now, but they were not then.

Q. COMMISSIONER NORRIS. Your theory is that both the police and the military were after him the same night? A. Yes, and acted independently.

Q. And that the going of the military in there afterwards was not for the purpose of deceiving the population as to who committed the murder? A. No, I do not believe it was. The police, who got the order from the military at five o'clock that afternoon to have three policemen ready to conduct the party on the raid, hoped to use it as a cover. But I do not really think that the military knew what was going on that night.

Q. Who ordered his killing that night? A. Oh, I suppose the orders came from Dublin Castle.

Q. Why did they not use the military rather than the police? A. Oh, the military were really decent up to that time. They were rather decent, and were not consciously out for murder up to that time. Now they are quite different. The military believed that they were there quite largely because Ireland was their country. Some of them think it still.

Q. MR. D. F. MALONE. Did that practically conclude the testimony offered at the inquest about the connection of the police with the murder? A. No, there was another significant thing. A doctor who lives on the hill saw a body of armed men stop at the corner, and three or four of them go further up the hill. A nurse who lives farther up that way saw them enter District Inspector Swanzy's house.

Q. MR. D. F. MALONE. I want to ask you first if the coroner who presided at the inquest was an officer of the British Government? A. Yes.

Q. Was there a jury? A. Yes, the jury was impaneled by the police.

Q. What was the verdict of the jury? A. The verdict is this: "We find that the late Alderman Thomas MacCurtain, Lord Mayor of Cork, died from shock and hemorrhage caused by bullet wounds; that he was wilfully murdered under circumstances of the most callous brutality; that the murder was organized and carried out by the Royal Irish Constabulary, officially directed by the British Government; and we return a verdict of wilful murder against David Lloyd George, prime minister of England; Lord French, lord lieutenant of Ireland; Ian MacPherson, late chief secretary for Ireland; Acting Inspector General Smith of the R. I. C.; Divisional Inspector Clayton of the R. I. C.; District Inspector Swanzy, and some unknown members of the R. I. C. We strongly condemn the system now in vogue of carrying out raids at unseasonable hours. We tender to Mrs. MacCurtain and her family our sympathy in their bereavement. This sympathy we extend to the citizens of Cork in the loss they have sustained of one so capable of carrying out their city administration."

Q. Who selected the men who sat on the jury? A. The police always impanel the jury. There are certain names, the names of the list of burgesses, you use, and they take these names at haphazard. Coroners' juries are not like criminal juries. People do not object to going and serving.

Q. COMMISSIONER NORRIS. The police were charged with the crime. Then why did they select the jury? A. There was no one else to select the jury at this time. When the first men were summoned, only seven of them showed up. Then the coroner called upon several citizens who offered themselves as willing to act. One or two were members of the corporation, and one of them suggested that as a member of the corporation he might not be considered eligible. The coroner at first said, "I don't see what difference that would make." And finally he thought better not to ask them to serve. The solicitor for the King asked what each man's occupation was, because, he said, that on account of the evidence he was about to submit, no policeman could sit on that jury. So on that ground several of them withdrew.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. I would like to know if the British Crown was represented at that inquest? A. Oh, yes.

Q. And that all the formalities had been complied with that had been complied with in the days of peace? A. Yes.

Q. And that they, by the presence of their authorities, recognized it as an official procedure? A. Oh, yes, it was an absolutely official court in that case.

I would like to say, in addition, that at first they had only the Crown solicitor to represent them; they later brought in the most eminent King's Counsel in the country to represent them. I would like to say of that man, Mr. Wiley, a very eminent man: it was easy for us to see that all through the inquest he was acting honorably, and that he got a complete shock when the evidence showed so conclusively that the police had committed this murder. Before the evidence was half through, he withdrew on the plea of business elsewhere. He had to go somewhere else. Before he went away he said that, perhaps, from his position he might not be believed, but that he spoke from his heart in sympathizing with Mrs. MacCurtain and the family. A short time after that Mr. Wiley, a very young man who could have risen high in his profession, resigned from his position and cut off all connection with his party, the Unionist Party, which could have helped him to reach as high a position as Sir Edward Carson.

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Testimony of John Tangney

John Tangney was born in Castleisland, County Kerry, Ireland and is now living in New York. He is twenty-five years old, was educated in the national schools and by the Christian brothers, and from October, 1915 to July, 1920 served as a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary. He was stationed variously in Clonmel, County Tipperary, Midstone, County Cork, Cork City, Limerick City, and Clogheen, although Ballylooby in County Tipperary was considered his permanent assignment.

Q. MR. D. F. MALONE. What were the instructions given you regarding the use of firearms while you were in training as a policeman? A. Unless a personal attack was made upon you, you were never under any considerations to use firearms.

Q. After you had passed your training and were an accepted member of the R. I. C., what was the first time or stage at which these orders were changed? A. No definite order for a change was issued. It came about gradually. Except for self-defense the firearms were mainly for show purposes, until the new orders came.

Q. Were orders to use these arms for purposes of aggression ever issued? A. Yes, latterly.

Q. When were the first orders of that kind issued? A. In October, 1919.

Q. What were those orders? A. First, this circular came down from Dublin Castle saying that a batch of political prisoners had escaped from Lincoln Jail. Their names and descriptions were given in this official document, "The Hue and Cry," as it is termed. Their descriptions and ages were given. The first order was that they were to be arrested if they came within our notice anywhere. That was the wording of the first article. They were to be treated just the same as a criminal. Following that there was the receipt of an order—called a confidential article—by the sergeant of the station on November 4, stating that if these political prisoners were seen they were to be shot dead if they offered the slightest resistance. They named one political prisoner in particular—Mr. Stack. I did not know what position he held, but since I left the force I found that he was an Irish member of Parliament.

Further questioning revealed the fact that although practically all the young men of Ireland are on the run, none of them have been given up or informed on by the Irish population. Thousands of pounds have been offered as rewards, but to no purpose.

Mr. Tangney then continued to tell of the orders, issued by General Deasey, which were the next steps in the use of firearms for other than defense. General Deasey was a brigadier general in the British army, acting as divisional commissioner for the southern province of Munster, in command of the military and police.

Q. MR. D. F. MALONE. Before we get to the orders, when did this new force, the Black and Tans, come to Ireland? A. Of course, I saw them going through the country, but the first who came to our barracks came in April, 1920.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. Were they efficient in their duties? A. They absolutely knew nothing about police duties. On one occasion there was a county inspector whose duty it was to visit the barracks. He was trying to instruct these fellows, and we were all in the barracks, for we had to go to school to him. The inspector asked one fellow, what was his power of arrest, and the fellow said he didn't know. The inspector tried to make it simpler for him. He said, "If you see a man on the street, and you ask him to give you his name and address, and he refuses, what would you do?" And this Black and Tan said, "If I met a man on the street and asked him his name and address, and he refused, I would lift him right under the jaw, and the next thing I would use my bayonet. That is what I would do."

Q. Now tell us about General Deasey. What were his orders? A. The original orders were issued in May, 1920, and were that all policemen should go to mass—it mentioned Roman Catholics particularly, that they were to go to mass in formation. The two in front were to take revolvers and the last two were to take rifles, held at the ready with bullets in the breach until mass was over. And when mass was over they were to march through the crowds the same way. If there was any hostility shown, they were to shoot. That was the general tenor of the orders. It might not be the exact words.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. Do I understand that these military officers were up in front of the church with drawn rifles? A. Yes, sir, ready to fire.

Q. Was this for self-protection during the service, or was it to preserve order in the church during divine services? A. The order did not state that it was for self-preservation. Anybody who read the order could see that it was to try and goad the people on. And more than that, it related particularly to the Roman Catholics.

Q. Was that for every service? A. Just for the Roman Catholic services, but for both of those. Four men were to go to one service and four to the other.

Q. MR. D. F. MALONE. Was there any other order? A. Yes, in the barracks. There were six Black and Tans present when General Deasey came to the barracks, and he was questioning them about Sinn Feiners and the movement that was going on in the southern part of the country. He said that in case they were able to identify a person with Sinn Fein sympathies passing the barracks or going near the barracks, to bayonet him and not to waste good powder on him.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. Was that before the raids were made on the barracks? A. Yes, they had not been raided then. It was a most peaceful district.

Q. COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. I would like to ask you whether, at the time when this order was given about the squads of police going to church under arms, there had been any disturbances in any of the parish churches? A. No, there had never been in any of the churches with which I am acquainted.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. It was to terrify the people? A. Yes, anybody who read the order would see that. It was to terrify people. Redman and Foley were the first Black and Tans that came to the Ballyporeen barracks, and they had special instructions given to them in the office apart from the rest of us. None of those fellows used to go to any service, although they were supposed to be Protestants. After this order was issued by General Deasey, I noticed from my own observations that during service while the four men were in the Catholic church, none of the others left the barracks. And then they had bombs—a couple of hundred bombs—in the barracks.

Q. So that they held these men at the barracks in reserve? A. Yes, they held these six men in reserve in the barracks during the service. My idea was that if anything turned up at service, they could pounce upon them with the bombs and rifles loaded.

THE *FEIS* INCIDENT

Q. MR. D. F. MALONE. Mr. Tangney, will you now tell us about the *feis* incident. A. That happened in June, 1918. I was stationed at Ballylooby at the time. On Saturday night an order came that two men should proceed fully armed and equipped to Tipperary Town. We proceeded there, and found about fifty police gathered together. We got no definite orders until Sunday morning. Then we were lined up in the barracks square, and there was an inspector named Lowndes, who addressed us. We thought it was a declaration of war of some kind. He said there was going to be a *feis* in Lisvelane—that is a country gathering where there is Irish dancing and Irish music and the like. He said, "The military authorities have forbidden this *feis* to take place, but from information that we

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have received, the people are going to hold it anyway. But we are going to put it down. And any man who is not willing to do his duty this day had better drop out of the ranks." No man said anything, so we lined up and proceeded out on the streets where there were five military lorries. There were two armored cars—not tanks, but armored cars, with machine guns, that went along, too. We proceeded to Lisvelane, and when the people, coming along from mass, saw these lorries, the military, the police, and all the other war material, they fled in terror like bees. Horses went away from their owners' hands and jumped into side ditches, taking carts, passengers, and all. When finally we arrived in the village there were certain police tolled off to assist the military. Their orders were that if they saw anybody going toward the village, they were to turn them back, and fire, if necessary, to turn them back. Then, this County Inspector Lowndes and the two young officers, who were in charge of the military, adjourned to an adjoining saloon and got stupidly drunk. There were some Irish terriers outside the saloon door, and the officers took these dogs and threw them at each other, trying to get them to fight. "Yes," they said, "we will have to put the dogs to fight, for the Irish dogs will not come out and fight us." Finally, we went home, the military flashing (firing) revolvers and yelling all the way back. I myself had to take a revolver out of the hand of a soldier who was stupidly drunk.

Q. What was the reason given for this raid? A. Nothing, except that this *feis* was advertised to be held.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. Do you know of any other *feis* or celebrations broken up? A. Yes, they were broken up. Previous to that it was the common practice all over the country to hold them, and they have been broken up.

When asked if the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Black and Tans fraternized together, Mr. Tangney replied, "Oh, no. They [the Black and Tans] were roughnecks." He further described a fight which took place in the barracks, six Black and Tans, roaring drunk, fighting each other "like idiots."

Mr. Tangney resigned—at the sacrifice of his pension—because there was nothing more for him to do but "leave the military to butcher."

The Testimony of Mrs. Anna Murphy

Mrs. Murphy was born in New Ross, County Wexford, Ireland, and received her education in the national schools and in a boarding school in Sligo County. Her husband came to this country seven years ago and she followed three years later. About two years ago she returned to Ireland on account of her health with her only child, staying with her parents at New Ross, a small market town, peaceful and quiet.

Q. MR. D. F. MALONE. When were the troops, the Black and Tans, sent to New Ross? A. At Easter, 1920.

Q. And when was the curfew law put into effect? A. Last August in New Ross.

Q. And you were there at the time? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know whether or not any persons were shot for violations of the curfew order? A. No, sir, not that I know of.

Q. Do you remember about the killing of a little girl? A. She was not killed, she was shot, sir.

Q. Now, tell the Commission about that. A. Yes, sir.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. When did this happen? A. That happened about the eighth of September.

Q. Did you witness it? A. I did, sir.

Q. What was the girl's name? A. Lillie Furlong.

Q. How old was she? A. About eight. The little girl did not know about the curfew law, and the mother sent her out on an errand, and the Black and Tans called to her to stop. She was so scared that she began to run, and they fired, and she was shot in the back. She has been in the infirmary since.

Q. She has been where? A. In the infirmary.

Q. Did you know the mother of the child? A. I did, sir.

Q. How did it happen that the mother did not know that there was a curfew law? A. They were after some boys on the run, but she did not know about that.

Q. But why did she not know about the curfew law? Could she not read? A. She could, sir. But the curfew law was usually ten o'clock, but on this particular night it was nine o'clock, and the mother did not know it. They had put it on an hour early because they were after these boys on the run.

Q. MR. D. F. MALONE. What other experiences have you had with the Black and Tans? A. About three nights before I left Ireland, I was saying good-bye to some friends, and it was about half ten; and I met an officer and some Black and Tans as I was going home, and they told me to put up my hands, and I said I could not because I could not lay the baby down, and they said I must, and I told them I could not on account of the baby, but that they could search me, and they did. They tore open my clothes and searched me while I held the baby in my arms. And they got through and did not find anything. It was about an hour afterward when I got home. I really don't know how I got home. And I was all wet.

Q. It was raining? A. Yes, it was raining very much.

Q. I suppose that they searched the baby for firearms? A. Oh yes, they did. They opened his clothes and searched him.

Q. Were they gentle and considerate about it? A. No, sir, they were not. They were very rough, sir, and when they got through they pushed me into the door.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. Were you on the street? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they pushed you into what door? A. They pushed me into the door of the hardware store.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. On the street of the village? A. Yes, sir.

COMMISSIONER WALSH. About that little girl who was shot, that child of eight years; how badly was she injured? A. The mother said that she was shot in the spine.

Q. It was very serious, then? A. Yes, sir. The mother said she might be injured for life.

Testimony of John Joseph Caddan

John Joseph Caddan was born in Adare, County Limerick, nineteen years ago. In February, 1920, he enlisted in the Royal Irish Constabulary and resigned less than four months later, unable to "stop in such surroundings" or "to take part in the things they were doing." "I didn't fancy the way they were treating people."

Galway, the city in which Mr. Caddan was stationed, was quiet enough until the sacking of Tuam. Two policemen had been shot there, so the men from the barracks went out in motor lorries, burned public houses, the town hall, and wrecked things generally.

THE KILLING OF KRUMM

Q. MR. D. F. MALONE. Tell us about the man Krumm, the Black and Tan. A. This man Krumm was one of the Black and Tans. He was a motor driver stationed in Dumoor, about ten miles outside of Galway. He was in town about two weeks, getting his motor repaired. He took his time to it. He was a generally reckless fellow and drank a lot. I know of one case when he shot a sheep and brought it into the barracks to be cooked.

Q. You mean that when he got drunk he ran amuck? A. Yes, sir, he was very reckless then. This night I saw him with a bottle of poteen.

Q. Mr. Witness, tell us to the best of your ability what that is. A. It is what you call mountain dew.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. Irish whiskey? A. It is made in the mountains out of barley, I think. It is pretty strong stuff.

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Well, I saw Krumm with this bottle of poteen, and he was passing it around, and he said that when that bottle was gone, he would get another. About twelve o'clock he went up to the station for one of the papers, the Dublin papers. I could not say exactly what happened at the station, because I was in bed, but the next thing I knew one of the constables came up and gave the alarm, and said Krumm was shot. And we all had to get up and dress and get our carbines. There were about fifty men in the barracks, and they ran amuck then. The whole fifty came out in the streets, no officers; they all came out together. They went from the barracks up to the house of a man named Broderick and knocked at the door, and he opened the door, and they demanded his son. A couple of them rushed in and grabbed the candle he had in his hand, and went upstairs to get his son. The son asked time to dress, and they brought him down. While they were upstairs, some other men sprinkled petrol in the parlor and the hall. They marched the son down in front of them, and Broderick was told to stand where he was. The mother was told to stay in the back room where she was, and Broderick, the father, was ordered to stand in the hall. Then they touched a match to the house and it flashed up. The women began to scream, and they marched the son down to the railroad station to shoot him where Krumm had been shot.

Q. MR. MALONE. Did they leave Broderick and his wife in the burning house? A. Well, they could not get out through the flames very easily. They took the son up toward the station, but he got away, they fired after him, and I think wounded him in the leg, but I am not sure of that. He got away. Then they turned around and saw a crowd of neighbors trying to put out the flames, and they fired into the crowd.

Q. Was Broderick's son a member of the Irish Republican army, or were either of them implicated in the killing of that man Krumm? A. No, I do not think so. They probably knew nothing about him, for he was a new man in the town; he was just in there temporarily.

Q. What happened after this man Krumm left the barracks? You said he had been drinking before he left. A. Yes. I heard afterwards that he left the barracks and stopped for another drink before he went up to the station. He got up to the station platform and while waiting for a paper fired on the crowd, killing a man and wounding another.

Q. Was District Inspector Cruise promoted after this? A. Yes, he was promoted about a week after this.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. You were an eye-witness to all this—to the setting fire to Broderick's house and the firing into the crowd? A. Yes.

Q. Did you participate in any of it? A. I did not.

Q. What else happened that night? A. After that, what they did I did not witness, for I went back to the barracks, but I heard the next day—the men were telling about it themselves. They went to a place where there were two young men and demanded them. I do not know their names. They brought these young men down to the same place where Krumm was shot and stood them up against the wall there. One of the men was named Conway, I think. The order was given to fire, and just as the order was given, Conway fell forward on his face, and he saved his life miraculously. Some of them said, "Let them have another volley," and the leader said, "No, we have wasted enough ammunition on them."

Q. Was there any officer to lead the military in all this? A. No, it was just mob action.

Afterwards they came down to another man's house—Quirk, I believe was his name. They went in, dragged him out of bed and brought him down to the quays, where they stood him up against a lamp post and put twenty-seven shots into him.

Q. Who was this man Quirk? A. I believe he was a Sinn Feiner.

Q. He had nothing to do with the shooting of that Black and Tan at the station? A. Oh, no, of course not. He was home in bed.

Q. MR. MALONE. Now, I believe there was a general, a British general, who came down there. A. Yes, the next day a British general came down and spoke to us in the Day Room. And he started to talk about this business. He said, "This country is ruled by gunmen, and they must be put down." He talked about giving home rule to Ireland, and he said home rule could not be given until all of these gunmen were put down, and he called on the R. I. C. to put them down. He asked them what they required in the barracks, and that whatever they wanted he would give them, and that they were also going to get a raise in pay. And they said they needed machine guns, and he said that they would get them, and also tanks and more men, men who had been in the army during the war and who knew how to shoot to kill; and he said they would be the right men in the right place.

To welcome the Black and Tans, witness stated, the barracks canteen was restocked. Hard liquor, beer and ale, were sold in unlimited quantities to the policemen. This had not been customary under the old constabulary, but was started about a year ago. All fifty of the men in Mr. Caddan's barracks drank. Their life consisted of about four hours' duty a day on the city streets and then drink and sleep for the rest of the time.

Q. MR. MALONE. What was the general character of the Black and Tans? A. Well, they were usually very careless fellows, who did not give a hang about what they did. Some of them were got up for robbery at the depot where they were trained; some were sent to a lunatic asylum; and some of them were ex-convicts. The rest were mostly young men who had come over to enjoy themselves.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. Did the Black and Tans get extra money when they went on a raid? A. Yes, whenever they were called out of the barracks.

Q. MR. MALONE. That is overtime. A. Yes, overtime.

Q. MR. MALONE. After the Tuam affair, do you remember the affair of the constable who resigned? A. Well, yes, that was out in Tuam, too. I was not a witness to it. This man, his name was Roddy, had resigned in Tuam after the town was wrecked, and took a position with the city council. A short time after the Black and Tans went to his home and got him and brought him out to the lime pits near the town, and flogged him. Then some time after they did that, they flogged him again, and told him to clear out of the town with his wife and family, which he had to do.

CHAIRMAN HOWE. Did the Black and Tans get extra money when they went on a raid? A. Yes, whenever they are called out of the barracks.

Q. MR. MALONE. That is, overtime? A. Yes, overtime.

Testimony of Daniel Galvin

Daniel Galvin was born in Gorrynan, County Kerry, Ireland. He is thirty-three years old, and is now living in New York. He joined the Royal Irish Constabulary in 1907 and resigned last year, after thirteen years' service. He got his training at the Phoenix Park training school in Dublin, a training consisting of drill, gymnastics, school and police duties. After five months he was transferred to Gort in County Galway, and a little later to a station called Tubber in the same county.

Q. MR. MALONE. Where did you go from there? A. I remained in Galway until I came on to Tipperary. I spent five years in Galway. I applied to get nearer home. I applied for Cork East or Cork West, but I was refused, because it was adjoining my native county. And they said that if I wanted to go to Tipperary, it would be at my own expense. I applied for Tipperary, South Riding, and was transferred in May, 1912.

Q. Where have you been since then? A. I have been in a district called Weyl in County Tipperary.

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Q. Where else were you stationed? A. I was stationed at a place in Tipperary called Knockmealdown that is about three miles outside of Clonmel.

Q. Were you stationed at Clogheen? A. Yes, I was at Clogheen about six months before I resigned.

Q. Were you in Clogheen while Mr. Crowley was there? A. Yes.

Q. Did you hear his testimony? A. Yes.

Q. Do you know that all of the testimony he gave is true? A. Yes, it is true. I can give you my own version of it.

Q. I want to ask you this: In all the years that you have served in the R. I. C. in Ireland, what do you know of the relations between Catholics and Protestants? A. As a general rule in the South of Ireland the Protestants are the most prosperous people there. In many cases I would rather deal with the Protestants than with the Catholics.

Q. In other words, you have never heard of any differences whatever between them? A. I have traveled a good deal all over Ireland, south and west and east, and in my own native county, County Kerry, and I have never heard of any trouble between the people on account of any religious differences whatever in those sections.

Q. What would you say about Ireland as a peaceful country? A. It is a very peaceful country, sir.

Q. Did you have any difficult experiences with the people in pursuing your duties as a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary? A. No, sir. Nobody ever made any insulting remark to me in all the thirteen years of my service.

Q. Were there any serious crimes? A. No, sir.

Q. Any minor offenses? A. Nothing serious. Just petty larceny or something like that.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. How many murders did you come in contact with? A. There was just one case in County Galway in the land trouble there. That was in 1907.

Q. Just one case of murder in all your experience? A. Yes, that is right, sir.

Q. How about felonies and serious offenses? A. Nothing like that; just petty cases.

Q. What do you mean by petty offenses? A. Petty cases like drunkenness.

Q. How about stealing? A. Very, very limited in the country.

Q. How about burglary? A. No, very little. I have never known of any case of burglary where I was called upon to act.

Q. Were there any cases reported to your precinct? A. Oh, there may be a case of petty larceny, that is, a case of petty larceny like the stealing of tools or picks.

Q. But of the major crimes, there has been only one case come to your attention in thirteen years? A. Yes, one case in thirteen years.

Q. And drunken brawls—are they frequent? A. Not in these days. They used to be in 1910, 1911, or 1913, but not nowadays.

Q. What was there for 9,000 of the Royal Irish Constabulary in Ireland to do if there was no crime? A. Well, they are distributed all over the country. There were not nearly so many as that there until the last few years. I remember only three years ago when there were only three men in the station where I was in County Tipperary.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. How about the relations of Protestants and Catholics? Did they meet in a friendly way? Did they visit one another's houses? A. I know of a case where the Catholic priest and the Protestant minister went out fishing together, and also shooting together.

Q. When you say shooting together, you mean hunting? A. I mean fowling.

Q. Do they intermarry? A. Not very much.

Q. They traded at one another's stores, did they? A. Yes, indeed.

Q. In other words, prior to 1918, there was very little disorder? A. Yes, and after, and up to the present time there is very little need, as far as the people are concerned, of a police force.

Q. MR. MALONE. Now, Mr. Galvin, tell me in what way did your duties as a policeman change by orders after the elections of 1918? A. They were changed until I was simply only a soldier when I left the police force. I had to carry arms and bombs and the like. I had to have my rifle beside me at nights in bed. We were all behind barbed wire, and with thirty or forty bombs used sometimes at nights from the police station.

Q. Where do you date the first disorders in your district? A. I remember that in July, 1919, the County of Tipperary was proclaimed a prohibited district by the Lord Lieutenant. That required an additional force of police. That was according to English law then. They transferred police or R. I. C. from different portions of Ireland, even from the west of Ireland, and from the next counties to South Riding. Fairs and markets and public meetings and assemblies and so forth were to be prohibited, although Clogheen and portions of the South Riding were very quiet.

Q. Did the prohibition of fairs and markets interfere with the normal life of the people? A. Oh, yes, very much, because they had no way of selling their produce.

Q. Was it after the normal life of the people had been disturbed that the disorders began? A. Yes. It was not until some time in April, 1919, that a hundred of the military arrived from Manchester.

Q. Did you ever know of any attacks by the people on the police up to the time you are stating now? A. No, not at any place.

Q. Why did you resign from the R. I. C.? A. Well, simply because I did not like the system that they have at the present time. When I first joined, it was different then. I did not have any arms then. Of course they had arms then, but at the same time I never took them out with me on duty, the same as I had to do the last seven or eight months. We had the arms, but they were simply for show purposes.

Q. In other words, when the R. I. C. was changed from a police force into a military force, that was your reason for leaving? A. That was sufficient.

Q. Were you not entitled to a pension? A. Oh, yes, I certainly would have been entitled to a pension in two years more, in fifteen years, if I got out on a medical certificate. Or at twenty-five years I would have been entitled to one-half of my pay, and two-thirds on thirty years' service.

Q. SENATOR WALSH. You were in the station with the young man who was here who testified about the order to go to church on Sundays? A. Yes, I remember that order.

Q. Did you ever go to church in a squad before? A. Yes, I went once.

Q. Now, was that order compelling men to go to church armed for the purpose of showing military authority in the church, or was it simply a regulation in regard to each individual's conduct when he went to church? A. My belief was that the order was simply to incite the people.

Q. Where did you stand when you went to church? A. You were supposed to go up to the altar aisle.

Q. And two men went up with rifles? A. Two men went up with rifles, and two with carbines.

Q. Where did the other two men stand? A. The other two men stood near the door.

Q. Did you stand during the entire service? A. Yes.

Q. Did you march behind the people in coming out of the church? A. I marched behind about fifteen yards.

Q. After the people went out, did you walk down the center aisle of the church? A. Yes, the people went out first.

Q. Was that a general order? A. It was a general order for all Ireland, because it came from Dublin Castle.

Q. So that there was at that time and is now as far as you know military control over the church during church services? A. Yes, sir, that was the general impression of the people there.

Q. COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. Now, if a man was not going to

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church that morning, did they confine some in the barracks? A. Yes, half of the party were confined.

Q. So that every time there was a church service, some would be there? A. Yes, some would remain in the barracks.

Q. MR. MALONE. Tell about the Richards incident. A. Well, Crowley and a man named Grady and myself, we were sent out on patrol duty with these two Black and Tans. We had revolvers and Gillette and Richards had carbines. About a mile outside of Clogheen there was a man named Walsh, who was supposed to be in sympathy with the Republican movement, and Richards demanded that we show him where Walsh lived. We wanted to know what he wanted with Walsh, and he said he was going to shoot him. And we refused to show him where Walsh lived. And he turned around to us and demanded that we do our duty and show him the place. And we reminded him that he was not in the army now, he was on the police force. And he said that when he left the training depot, he was told that he would not be subjected to any discipline whatever if he shot any Sinn Feiners. He went about ten yards down the road and turned and said he would shoot me if I didn't show him where Walsh lived. Then we turned back to the barracks. We had not gone far when Richards fired at us. When I got back to the barracks with the men, I reported him to the sergeant, and he said he had committed a felony for threatening the lives of three men. He was confined to barracks for a few days, and then sent back to England, and then he came back to the R. I. C. again under an assumed name.

Q. What is your opinion of the character of the Black and Tans in Ireland today? A. We did not mix with them. We had as little to do with them as we could. To a great extent the people know what kind of people they are.

Testimony of Miss Ruth Russell

Miss Ruth Russell of Chicago, Illinois, was sent to Ireland by the Chicago *Daily News* to study special economic, social, and political conditions and report on them. She was in Ireland from March 16, 1919, to the end of June, the same year, at first in Dublin, then in Cork, Limerick, Belfast, and Dungloe in Donegal. She gave especial attention to the study of the country districts in Donegal in the northwest of Ireland. Her testimony before the Commission on December 15, 1920, is of particular interest and value.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. What was the method that you used in your investigations in Ireland? A. I used both interviews and personal experiences. In order to get the social conditions in Dublin I lived in the Dublin slums for a week as a working girl, and tried to find work there.

Q. Were you able to secure work in Dublin? A. There was no factory work to be had in Dublin at all, or indeed in any part of Ireland, even in Belfast. But there was domestic work to be had.

Q. What were the prevailing wages in factories at that time for the people who were employed? A. The best woman's wage in Dublin at that time was paid at a large basket factory in Dublin. That ran from $4.50 to $10 a week. These were especially good wages. There was a toy factory in Dublin which paid as low as $1 a week to girls. This was astonishingly low, in view of the fact that it costs a girl at least $5 a week to live by herself in Dublin.

Q. So that only girls who could afford to work for those wages or who were living at home and were supported by their parents and were virtually undercutting the women workers who had to support themselves could live on that wage? A. Yes, yes.

RAID ON THE MANSION HOUSE

Q. Were you present in Dublin at the time of the raid on Dublin Castle? A. I was present there at the time of the raid on the Mansion House. At the time I was at Madam Gomme MacBride's house on Stephens Green. Her young son came rushing over to the house and told us that the Mansion House was being raided, that the police were searching for Michael Collins and Robert Barton. Miss Barton, Robert Barton's sister, was in the house at the time. We dashed across Stephens Green, and we found a double line of police and constables drawn up across Dawson Street, the entrance to the Mansion House Road. The soldiers were there with fixed bayonets. Just beyond the line there was a whippet tank, and beyond that there were motor lorries for the soldiers that were taking part in it. The American delegates were to have a reception at the Mansion House that evening. The car with Frank Walsh and President de Valera approached the line of the military. The military lowered their bayonets. Frank Walsh got out of the car and approached the bayonet line and went up to Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson of the Dublin military police, and inquired, "What's the row?" The casualness of the question must have disarmed the Lieutenant-Colonel, because he started to laugh, and after a long conference finally permitted the American car to go through. After the order was given, the lorries containing the soldiers were taken out through the crowd, amid the booing of the people, and the car flying the American and Sinn Fein flags entered through the passage, and the reception was held at the Mansion House.

Q. Before this the Mansion House had been raided by the troops? A. Yes.

Q. What was the purpose of that raid, as you were told? A. The purpose was to find Michael Collins, minister of finance of the Irish Republic, and Robert Barton, member of the Irish Parliament.

Q. You were acquainted with Robert Barton's sister. Did you meet Robert Barton also? A. Yes, I met him.

Q. Is he a Protestant? A. Yes.

Q. Was he a British officer? A. He was.

Q. And reputed to be a very wealthy man? A. Yes, he has a beautiful home at Glengarriff.

Q. Did you learn anything of the circumstances of the raid? Was there a raid made on the private apartments of the Lord Mayor? A. I heard that the raid was rather thoroughly conducted in the Lord Mayor's house. Soldiers even penetrated to the bedroom of the Lord Mayor's wife, and searched there. But they were not successful in finding either Michael Collins or Robert Barton. However, both of these turned up at the reception later.

Q. Had there been any acts on the part of the Irish Republic as the moving cause of this raid? Had any policeman or any soldier been shot? A. No.

Q. They were simply out to arrest these two leaders of the Republican Government? A. Yes.

Q. Were they also leaders of the Republican army? A. Yes.

Q. But Michael Collins at that time was not a leader of the army—he was minister of finance, was he not? A. He was minister of finance and captain in the Volunteer army.

Q. Do you know whether Robert Barton has since been arrested? A. Yes, I believe that he has, and was sentenced to two or three years' imprisonment. I do not know what for.

Q. You met a number of the leaders of the Republican movement in Ireland? A. Yes, I think I met almost all of them.

Q. What type of men were they? A. They were extremely cool-headed and intelligent. The crowd of Sinn Fein leaders that I met at George Russell's—Æ's—house in Dublin were, I think, the most brilliant crowd of people that I have met in my life, and as a newspaper person I have mixed in at a good many gatherings.

RELIGIOUS PHASE OF THE IRISH QUESTION

Q. Were they all Catholics? A. No. "Æ"—George Russell—is an Ulster man, and Arthur Griffiths is a Protestant, and a good many others were Protestants.

Q. Did you form any conclusions through your talking and

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living among the people as to the religious phase of conditions in Ireland? Is there a religious basis for the present trouble? A. No, I think that the religious feeling has been artificially worked up in Ulster. But I think that on account of the unifying influence of the labor people in Ulster this religious feeling is rapidly dying down.

Q. I wonder if I could develop this religious question a little further. Did I understand you to say that in your opinion the religious feeling had been artificially created? A. Yes.

Q. And does not exist among the common people generally? A. I do not say that it doesn't exist in Ulster, but that it is rapidly dying down.

Q. How about the rest of the country? A. Well, I think with George Russell that there is not a feeling of religious intolerance in the south of Ireland at all.

Q. As far as you saw, they live peacefully with one another? Do they visit with one another and trade with one another? A. Yes, certainly.

Q. Now, compare it with this country. Is there any more religious intolerance than there is in this country? A. I think not. I think that in some of the southern towns of my own State there is more religious intolerance than in Ireland.

Q. Does it enter into the elections? A. No, not as far as I know.

Q. Does it enter into the school question? A. Yes, it does in Ulster. In Belfast there is a question concerning the support of the schools; and it is rather difficult to go into the whole school topic to explain it, although I can if you want me to. But it is a matter of support. The Protestants feel that there is not enough money to be had for their schools. There are 15,000 children in Belfast without school accommodations. The arrangement for the money for the schools is that some person so disposed in Ireland will build a school and the Parliament grant will support it. In Belfast they want a different system. But the Catholics feel that their children have been fairly well cared for under the present system, and do not want a change.

Q. There have been a number of people over in this country who have been speaking on the Irish question, and have been insisting that there can be no home rule in Ireland or self-determination in Ireland because underlying everything else is the danger of Catholic domination. You know what their argument probably is. It has a good deal of currency. What about that statement? You would say that it is artificially created? A. Yes. I spoke to Francis Joseph Bigger, who is a prominent lawyer in Belfast, on that matter. Mr. Bigger is a Protestant. He was speaking particularly of the organization of trade. I spoke of how much we heard of the religious feeling in Belfast; and he said it was mostly talk, that, for instance, you do not find Catholic people trading at a Catholic store or Protestant people trading at a Protestant store. They go where they find things the cheapest.

Q. We have not been able to get any witnesses from Ulster, and since that seems to be one of the Irish issues, if you can throw any more light on that, I would be very glad of it. Just how is this issue raised? Who keeps it alive if it is not a real issue? A. I spoke to labor people in Belfast. I spoke particularly to Dawson Gordon, who is one of the officials of the Textile Workers' Federation there.

Q. MR. BASIL MANLY.* Is he a Protestant? A. Yes, he is a Protestant. And he told me that the religious issue, like the political issue, is kept alive by the big millionaires in Belfast; that while the workers were kept separated, they were not able to organize. He said, for instance, that before the war a labor organizer would go into a meeting that was held for the purposes of organization, and he would begin his speech. He would no sooner begin than the crowd would say, "Are you a Unionist?" or "Are you a Sinn Feiner?" And he would have to answer. And according to his answer, one-half of the people would leave the hall. The result was that before the war they had a textile organization of only about 400 members. But during the war the high cost of living drove them to organize, and at the end of the war there were something like 40,000 members in this organization. And since Protestant and Catholic workmen have come together and organized themselves, they have doubled their wages. Spinners, for instance, earned $3 a week; and by organization they have raised them to $7 or $7.50 a week. He said that labor meetings have taken place, some of them in Hibernian halls and some of them in Orange halls, without regard to religious differences. He even told of a labor parade in a small town outside of Belfast where one-half the band was Hibernian and the other half was Orange, and yet there was perfect harmony!

Q. COMMISSIONER NORRIS. That means that one-half of them were Catholic and one-half of them Protestant? A. Yes.

Q. In these meetings where they would ask the labor organizers if they were Unionists, that did not imply any religious difference, did it? A. As a rule the Unionists are Protestant.

Q. You said that when someone spoke at these meetings called for organization purposes, they always asked the question whether they were Unionists, and depending on their answer, about one-half of their audience would leave. Now, what I wanted to get at is whether there is no religious question involved in that. A. Yes. I said that these people would ask from the floor, "Are you a Sinn Feiner?" or "Are you a Unionist?" And they would also ask, "What is your religion?"

Q. But I want to find if, when they would ask "Are you a Unionist?" and "Are you a Sinn Feiner?" there is any religious line involved in that question. A. I think that the Unionist leaders before the war were pretty thoroughly Protestant.

Q. Well, how are they now? A. In 1919, I think it was, that the International Labor Conference was held in Berne in Switzerland, and at that conference Ulster labor representatives, mainly Protestants, backed the rest of Irish labor in a demand for self-determination.

Q. Now, as I understand you in regard to Ulster, the people seem to be divided somewhat on the religious issue, and that is entering into this controversy that is going on there now. Is that right? A. It has been an issue. I think it is growing less of an issue all the time.

Q. Now, in what ways is it growing less? Do you mean that the question as to whether certain persons are Unionists or Sinn Feiners is decided upon the religious beliefs of the people, or is it in less degree that way now than it was before the war or during the war? A. Yes, I think people are forgetting their religious prejudices through these labor organizations. When they get together they find they are not such terrible people after all.

Q. Is there any other place in Ireland besides Belfast where this religious issue is involved? A. No, not that I know of.

Q. How are the people divided numerically? A. They are almost half and half. In Ulster the Catholics are only a little less than the Protestants.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. You mean the whole province as distinguished from the city of Belfast? A. Yes.

Q. COMMISSIONER NORRIS. Now, what kind are Protestants? A. The rich mill owners are almost all Protestant Unionists. Then there were a great many Protestant laborers. And then the mass of the Catholic people were laborers.

Q. Now, is there any difference in policy on the part of Great Britain toward Ulster and toward the balance of Ireland? Why is it that the rich factory owners are Unionists. A. Their industries have been protected by England.

Q. That is what I am trying to get at. How have they been protected? A. I think they have been protected by permitting men like Carson to work on the religious prejudices of the people so that the rich mill owners profit by the division of the people, especially the laboring people.

Q. Now, how do they profit? How does that result in a profit to the rich mill owners? A. So long as the laborers are kept apart, the labor cost of the mill owners is very much less because

* Acting as counsel for witness.

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the laborers are not able to ask for higher wages. They have not the strength of organization.

Q. And as that organization proceeds, the religious issue disappears? A. Yes, it is disappearing.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. May I ask a few questions along that line? You have never known a unanimity of opinion upon any great question anywhere in the world? A. No.

Q. And there is not in Ireland today on this question of a Republic? A. No, but I think there is possibly the greatest unanimity there that has ever existed on a great issue in any country of the world.

Q. Looking towards independence? A. Yes.

Q. Now, I want to get this foundation for a correct division of the forces in Ireland. Do I gather from your testimony that the movement for a free, independent Ireland is led by the liberal-thinking, intellectual forces of Ireland, and that the opposition is led by the capitalistic class supported by such people as they can influence along religious lines? Is that a summary of the whole situation? Tell us in your own words. A. I think that that might be considered a summary of it.

Q. That is, that the mental, thinking forces, the intellectual class that you have spoken of as meeting, have rallied to their support the great mass of the people, approaching an overwhelming percentage, for independence and self-determination; and opposed to them is, first of all, the capitalistic class plus such forces in the north of Ireland as they have been able to rally to their support by appeals along religious lines? A. Yes, but I would like to add that in my opinion it would have been impossible for these brilliant young leaders to rally the forces in Ireland behind them unless the people were driven to revolt by the economic conditions that are pressing into them.

Q. Exactly. But that is one reason why they have been able to get the people behind them? A. Yes.

Q. But the leaders are what we call in America the liberals and the intellectual class? A. Yes; I don't know what you mean by "liberal," but they are an extremely intelligent class.

Q. I mean by liberals, intelligent, forward-looking people who have no prejudices, who are trying to find sound and fundamental notions of life and government. Is that not true? A. Yes.

Q. Did you find religious differences involved among the Republican leaders? A. No, oh, no.

Q. Is there any thought of religious differences at all among those men and women? A. No.

Q. COMMISSIONER MAURER. In the south of Ireland where the Catholics are in the great majority, perhaps 90 per cent, how did you find the workers organized where Catholics were in the majority? Did you find them generally organized, or were they about as poorly organized as they were in the north of Ireland? A. I think that labor organization is proceeding very rapidly in Ireland. The Irish Transport and the General Workers' Union has jumped tremendously, by the tens of thousands, in the last year or so.

Q. Yes. The point I want to get at is this: Before you came from Ireland, did you find that in the south of Ireland there had been a labor movement prior to your coming to Ireland; and if so, what kind of labor movement was it? Did it have any strength? What did it amount to before the war began in Europe? A. Nothing. I think that before the strike of 1913 in Dublin labor was practically unorganized.

Q. At what part of Ireland was that? A. The big strike was at Dublin.

Q. The religious issue did not seem to be raised in the south of Ireland? A. No.

Q. And the Catholics and Protestants seemed to be able to agree and get into the same labor unions? A. Yes.

Q. But in the north of Ireland, where the Protestants are in the overwhelming majority (perhaps not so overwhelming as the Catholics are in the south), there was religious difficulty? A. Yes.

Q. Now, I am assuming that the Catholics in the south were organized prior to and before the northern workers. Is that true? A. I think the shipyard workers in Belfast were pretty thoroughly organized first.

Q. Yes, I understand. But I mean the textile trades. A. No, I don't think so.

Q. In your investigation, did you find any difference between the wages in the south of Ireland and those in the north? A. In the old established organizations like the shipbuilders they were getting pretty good wages. The wages had increased in Dublin through the Dock Workers; and through the Transport Workers they had during the war almost doubled.

Q. That is not the point I am trying to get at. In the north of Ireland, where the religious differences are the greatest, were the wages in that part of Ireland anywhere near as good or better than they were in the south of Ireland, where there was no apparent religious difference? A. It is very hard to compare the wages in the north and south of Ireland because there is so much factory work in the north. In the south the men are employed in farm labor and casual work; but in Belfast there is more factory work.

Q. Yes, yes. So that the textile industry seemed to be located mostly in the north of Ireland? A. Yes.

Q. What was the standard of living in the north of Ireland when you were there? A. I think, in a way, it was worse than that in the south of Ireland, for this reason, that the people were so driven by factory work that on the streets as you would meet them they would appear very thin and underfed. Even the young girls in Belfast do not seem to have money enough to dress up, and would wear black shawls over their heads.

Q. Did you find any particular prejudice against the word "labor union" among the people? A. No, I did not.

Q. And what position did those men and women that you did meet take on this question of the freedom of Ireland? A. They were for self-determination.

Q. They were for independence, that means? A. Yes. That has been shown by their action at the Berne Labor Conference.

Q. Yes, but resolutions adopted at conventions would not mean as much to me as the sentiments you would gather by living among the people themselves. You met the rank and file, I suppose? A. Yes.

Q. Protestant men and women? A. Yes.

Q. And you spoke to them about self-determination for Ireland? A. Yes.

Q. And what did they say? A. Dawson Gordon told me that the political question would absolutely have to be settled before the rise of the unions in Ulster could go on and develop as they ought to. Labor therefore stands for the settling of the question, and believes that only self-determination can settle the question.

Q. They are not afraid that the Pope is going to run Ireland, then? A. No.

Q. And they think that self-determination alone can settle the question? A. Yes.

THE SCHOOL QUESTION

Q. COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. I would like to ask a question about the public schools in Ireland. The buildings are not erected by public funds? A. Partly. I have forgotten the exact arrangement, but it was something like this: a person who desired to erect a school could build it and equip it at his own expense, and then it was run by a Parliamentary grant. I haven't thought or written about that question lately, but I could look it up, of course.

Q. The parish schools were already built, and the Catholic population did not wish to be taxed by the school boards because they had their parish schools, as I understand it. This educational issue is a strong issue in Ulster between Catholics and Protestants, is it not? A. Yes.

Q. If we could gather the point of difference there, it might be illuminating. Or did you gather that material? A. I have that material exactly in a pamphlet by the Vice-Regal Com-

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mission on Education. I have it here, and can leave it with the Commission.

Q. But the point is that the Catholic population already have their parish schools, and do not wish to be taxed for the maintenance of board schools. Is that it? A. Not exactly. The schools, as I understand it, have been erected by individual benefactors or by the expense of the pastorate, Protestant or Catholic. And the Catholics in Ulster believe that they have been fairly well taken care of under this system, and that the arrangement in the grant would make an extra expense for them; and they believe that they would be paying, then, some of the expenses for other schools; and they believe that they are already sufficiently taxed.

Q. That is what I meant. It would be double taxation. A. Yes.

Q. COMMISSIONER NORRIS. But what about the Protestant schools there? Are they paid for out of public funds? A. Well, the Parliamentary grant goes to them as well as to the Catholic schools.

Q. That is what I wanted to get at. Is there any discrimination about the Catholics and the Protestants in the schools? A. No, not that I have heard about. I don't think there is any legal discrimination.

Q. Is there any discrimination in administration? A. No, not that I have heard of.

Q. Can Catholic children go to Protestant schools and Protestant children go to Catholic schools? A. Yes, they can.

Q. Now as I understand it, part of the money is paid by the public funds and part from the churches? A. Yes.

Q. They both get support from public funds? A. Yes.

Q. Do you know how the public funds are divided? Is it in proportion to the number of population? A. Yes, it is in porportion to the number of population.

Q. Is there any claim on the part of the Catholics that the Protestants are getting too much from the public funds already, or any feeling on the part of the Protestants that the Catholics are getting too much? A. I have not heard anything about that, but the Catholics think that under the new arrangements they would be paying too much in taxes.

Q. What is that new arrangement? A. It has been a long time since I have written anything on that, and the details have escaped me.

Q. COMMISSIONER NEWMAN. But they think that under the new arrangement there would be a discrimination, and that the Catholics would be paying too much for their education? A. That is what they believe.

Q. What opinion did you come to? A. I don't remember forming any definite conclusion.

Q. COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. As I understand it, Miss Russell, the Protestants want public schools while the Catholics are holding on to the idea of parish schools: the real difference is between two theories of education. It is not a matter of funds so much. The Catholics are objecting because they would be taxed for a public school system when they want their parish schools. Is that not it? A. I did not hear the matter explained that way when I was there. But it is very possible.

COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. Of course, the financial question is implicit in it.

RELIGIOUS, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ISSUES

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. Is there underlying the Irish question, then, a line of economic cleavage that is responsible for the opposition to self-determination by one class and the support of it by another? Is there an economic issue there, then, as well as a political issue? A. Yes, I think so.

Q. Do you think that is a dominant issue, then, or a subordinate issue? What influences the majority in the House of Lords and the large majority in the House of Commons? Is that econonic, political, or religious? A. Your first question was whether there was an economic cleavage in Ireland?

Q. Whether you could explain the Irish question on economic terms rather than on political terms? A. Yes. And you also asked if it was subordinate to the political question?

Q. Yes. When Ireland was alien-owned by alien landlords, it was easy enough to understand that English landlords would oppose self-determination for Ireland because Ireland might then impair the value of their property because Ireland could tax it or levy upon it or do anything with it. But today I understand that between 60 and 70 per cent of the land is owned by the Irish peasants. But the English landlords who are left might still fear self-determination because their estates would be broken up. A. Yes.

Q. How about the commercial class, the banking class? A. There are ninety-six stock banks in Ireland. I think that six out of nine are controlled in England.

Q. So that English bankers might oppose self-determination in the banking interests? A. Yes.

Q. How about the big shipbuilders, or Harland & Wolff, Ld.—that is a Belfast firm, a Unionist firm, is it not? A. I do not know.

Q. But the shipping interests are English, are they not, rather than Irish? A. Yes.

Q. And the jobbers or wholesalers or speculators who control Irish products, are they Irishmen in Belfast or are they not? A. They are mostly English or pro-English Irishmen, according to the statement made to me by Dennis MacCullough, who is a piano merchant in Belfast. He spoke of the difficulties that he had to encounter in his business because of the discrimination in his business against Irishmen.

Q. Because of the discrimination by whom? A. He said, for instance, that he found it difficult to get store space from English landlords.

Q. COMMISSIONER NEWMAN. Did he say anything about banking accommodations? A. He did not say anything to me about that, but Professor Smith of the University of Cork told me that the Irish borrowers from the English-controlled Irish banks were charged one per cent more interest than English borrowers from English banks. Aside from that—

Q. Just a moment before you leave that. Did he give any basis, any reason for that? Is it merely because they are Irish, or is it because of some actual economic basis? A. He said, as I remember it, that on account of the conditions of the country, money was made dearer there because the risk in giving it out was greater.

COMMISSIONER NORRIS. You were just finishing up when you were interrupted for something else.

THE WITNESS. Yes, I was going to tell about the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, that spoke about the difficulty the farmers especially had in getting money. On that point, in a little pamphlet called "Crop Credit," the society says: "It is rarely that the joint stock banks will lend the small sums that the farmers require at less than 10 per cent interest deducted beforehand. Then there is the cost of postage or traveling expense if the applicant does not live near a bank. Again, the bank does not lend to the farmer for a period that enables him to make a profit out of his loan; and a loan that is made to mature too soon often cripples the borrower rather than be of any assistance to him. But even then, it is impossible to secure a loan in many cases, and the farmer is compelled to inquire elsewhere."

To overcome that difficulty, the society has established about a hundred cooperative banks in Ireland.

MR. BASIL MANLY. Are there any other questions by the Commission?

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. I would like to draw a parallel if I can. Last week there was a gentleman here who had been in the Philippines for a time. He said it was not possible to discuss independence for the Philippines in the clubs where Americans were—Americans who had interests there, who were buying and selling; that the hostility to Philippine independence sprang very largely from the Americans there who were exploiting the Philippines. He named various kinds of business and commercial interests there that were exploiting the Philip-

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pines. We have not been in the Philippines very long, but in that time the exploiting interests seem to have gained such power that they can oppose the independence of that country. At the same time, this same kind of interests might be back of the opposition to independence for Ireland. Have you any facts on that point? A. I think that Irish industry has been suppressed there for the benefit of English industry, and during the war I have a specific case where industry was suppressed for the benefit of the box contractors in Liverpool. Would you like that case?

COMMISSIONER NORRIS. Yes, give us that.

SUPPRESSION OF IRISH INDUSTRY

THE WITNESS. I spoke to Edward Riordan, who is secretary of the Irish Industrial Development Association. It is an association of which the Earl of Carrick, Sir Nugent Everard, the Countess of Dessart, and other non-Sinn Feiners are executive members. Mr. Riordan said that for the first two years of the war Ireland was able to get no war supply contracts from England. Then in 1916 a very representative committee of all Ireland called upon Lloyd George, who was then minister of munitions, and Lloyd George said to them (I quote exactly from Mr. Riordan): "It is fair that Ireland, contributing as she does not only in money but in flesh and blood, should have her fair share of expenditures." After that committee had called on Lloyd George, Ireland was given five small national plants. The insignificance of these can be seen from the fact that when the armistice was declared there were a little over two thousand Irish persons working in them.

Some private contractors have been able to get contracts from England, and one of these was a box contractor. Mr. Riordan said that, unlike the English firms, the Irish firms received no money advances and no machinery, but took contracts at competitive prices, and had no guaranty that these contracts would be continued. When the box contracts had expired, the All-Ireland Committee went to the chief of the box commission in London, and the minister told them that the commission did not care whether they got any more boxes made in Ireland; that the box manufacturers in Liverpool had come to them and said that they wanted no more imported boxes, that they could make all the boxes that were necessary; that they wanted only timber for case boards, either dried or undried; and that they would then get the manufacture of all necessary boxes carried out in England. Mr. Riordan wrote an article on the subject, which is published in *Studies*, a Dublin magazine, for June, 1918. It contains that complete box contract story.

Q. COMMISSIONER MAURER. You say, in other words, that when Great Britain was in America buying supplies by the hundreds of millions of dollars worth she just gave contracts to Ireland enough to employ about two thousand people, which in America would not make a decent-sized village, even in war time. And therefore Ireland is not supposed to develop industrially. A. Yes, that is it.

Q. Do you know anything about the mines in Ireland? To what extent are they developed? A. Mr. Riordan spoke about three of the principal mines in Ireland. He said that until the war these mines did not even have railroad connections; that the ancient method of carting coal on donkey-carts from the mouth of the mines was still taking place in two of the mines. During the war, however, there was a spur built to the mines in Kilkenny.

Q. Have you any idea of how many men are employed in and about the mines in Ireland? A. No, I have no idea.

Q. Well, have you any idea as to the deposits of coal in Ireland? A. In 1881 there was an estimate made by Professor Hall which placed the net tonnage at 180 million tons, I believe. I could find the exact figures for you.

Q. Do you know anything about the grade of coal that they have in Ireland? A. The grade of coal is not as good as that which is obtained in Wales, but it is still quite usable.

Q. So that your conception of the mining situation is that the mines of Ireland have not been developed; have not been scratched yet; have been simply left undeveloped? A. Yes.

Q. And when that is the situation, they are importing coal from America, when across the channel they have millions of tons of coal that could be had much more easily, but they do not take it. It seems, therefore, that there is a desire to prevent Ireland from developing as an industrial nation. Is that your conclusion? A. Yes, that is the conclusion I have come to.

Q. COMMISSIONER NORRIS. Who owns those mines you spoke of? A. I know that of those mines near Kilkenny the Countess Dessart is one of the owners.

Q. MR. MANLY. You said she is not a Republican. A. No.

Q. What are the facts about the minimum wage law? Is there a difference between its application in England and Ireland, or does it apply to Ireland at all? A. I would like to contrast the wages there. In Belfast the women who take embroidery, for instance, into their homes from the linen mills get, I was told by Mollie Donovan, one of the trades union organizers, from $1.25 to $1.50 a week by steady working. In 1915 the Ministry of Labor in Great Britain passed a rule, a statutory rule, Order 357, which said that a girl of eighteen working a six-day week and eight hours a day should be paid at least $6.72 a week. There was a postscript which said that this rule shall apply to all parts of Great Britain, but not to Ireland. I have that ruling order among the documents I have with me now.

Q. You were up at Donegal in the country where the cooperatives have been developed, were you not? A. Yes.

Q. What was the reason, as you learned it, for the development of the cooperatives in that section of the country? A. In that particular section a great deal of emigration has taken place, on account of the change of the country from tillage to cattle-raising. When a great many people were thrown out of jobs there, it was necessary for them to emigrate. Until the establishment of the cooperatives, there were a great many Irish boys and girls who had to go either to America or migrate annually to the English and Scotch harvests. By the establishment of the cooperatives there, not only the cooperative store but the cooperative bank and especially the cooperative knitting mill, a great many of the young people were enabled to stay at home. During the war there were about 400 girls employed in the cooperative knitting factory there.

Q. And these cooperative enterprises are owned by the people of that particular locality? A. Yes.

Q. Do you know, in round figures, about how many Irish boys and women do go over to England for the harvest season? A. I was told by Secretary Campbell of the Ministry of Labor that there was an annual migration of about 50,000 Irish boys and girls over to that harvest.

Q. Do you know how long that harvest season lasts? A. No, I don't.

Q. Do you know whether they go over the entire growing and harvesting season, or whether it is just for a short season? A. My opinion is that they go over for about six months of the year.

Q. And that is caused by the fact that in Ireland the country has become primarily a grazing and dairying country? A. Yes.

Q. And that there is not land enough developed to keep them in Ireland; that these Irish boys and girls go over to help harvest England's crops because they cannot get work at home? A. Yes.

Q. You have prepared notes, have you not, Miss Russell, on some of these questions? A. Yes.

Q. Would you briefly give some of these points to the Commission? A. Yes, I think I could, Mr. Manly.

The first point was in regard to the change of the country from a tilled country to a grazing country. This, according to Arthur Griffiths, who is the economist of the Sinn Fein movement——

Q. You met Arthur Griffiths, did you not? A. Yes, I did.

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Q. What sort of man is he—a scholarly man? A. Yes, he is a very scholarly, reserved, almost taciturn man.

Q. How old is he, would you judge? A. He is in the forties, I would say.

Q. Did he impress you as being a man of ability? A. Yes sir, of very great ability.

Q. A man qualified, you would say, to act as an executive of one of our states? A. Yes, I think that he is.

Q. He is fully of that caliber? A. Yes, he is distinctly of the executive type.

MR. MANLY. I just wanted to bring out your knowledge of him. Proceed, please.

THE WITNESS. Mr. Griffiths said that at the meeting of the Irish Parliament, which was called for the American delegation, it was brought out that the principal method by which Irish industries had been suppressed during the nineteenth century was the changing of the country from a tillage country to a grazing country. He said that during the nineteenth century England wanted a cheap meat supply center, and there was not room enough on her island for grazing, so she made it more profitable for the large landowners of Ireland to raise cattle than crops. Accordingly the large landowners turned their entire estates into large cow lots. And as there was very little labor needed to herd cattle, and very little labor needed in side industries, because the cattle were and still are exported on the hoof, millions of people were thrown out of employment.

Q. And that is the fundamental reason for the bad living and working conditions that you found in Ireland? A. Yes. And also the banking restrictions. The result of the suppression of industries is that the individual person in Ireland must choose between emigration and low wages in Ireland. While I was in Ireland, *Nationality*, a Sinn Fein paper which has since been suppressed, published census statistics which showed the depopulation of Ireland. They showed that from 1841 to 1911 the population of Ireland fell from 8,000,000 to 4,300,000. It also gave the decrease by counties, and some of the counties lost more than 60 per cent of their population.

I spoke of the low wages that it was necessary for women to take when they could get factory jobs. But I did not speak of the low wages that they were forced to take as domestics.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN IRELAND

Q. What were the prevailing wages for domestics that you found over there? A. Well, one night in a night refuge in Court Street I picked two possible advertisements from one of the newspapers and asked my companions at the table which one of them to take. One of them was for a general housework girl to live with the family at $50 a year. The other ran: "Wanted, a strong, humble housework girl to live out, $1.50 a week."

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. This was in 1919? A. Yes, in 1919. The married women must earn money enough to make up the family budget. Lionel Smith-Gordon of Plunkett House made an investigation in 1917, an investigation which was published in pamphlet form and called "Starvation in Dublin." The pamphlet was not permitted to go out of the British Isles. In that pamphlet he said that the annual wage of an unorganized unskilled worker was about $260 a year, and the wage of organized unskilled workers was about $367. But he made the point that to keep an average family of five just going on food alone cost $370. There is a deficit to make up even when work is not slack. And it is the women who meet that deficit.

Q. That means that the wives and daughters must go to work in order to keep the family above the starvation line? A. Yes. For instance, when I was staying one night in the dockers' quarters with a widow in one of the typical one-room tenements near the river Liffey in Dublin, the sister-in-law of the widow came into the house early in the morning and told her that her man had been out of work for four days, and she wanted to know if the widow could keep the child out of the grate that day because she had to go out washing. In the same building there was a twenty-year old girl with a little blind baby, who said that her husband had not given her a farthing for a fortnight, and that she was getting food for the baby from her mother.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. Was this incident due to dissipation or was it due to economic conditions? A. It was due to economic conditions. This was in the dockers' quarter, and conditions there are very bad.

Q. Is that a common situation? A. Yes, it is. There is very little river traffic on the Liffey now. During the war there were many boats taking timber back and forth from Ireland over to England, so that the times were better for the dockers than they were after the war.

Q. How many of these families live in these one-room quarters? A. In Dublin there were 25,000 families living in one-room tenements.

Q. Twenty-five thousand families? A. Yes. The proportion of those in Dublin living more than two in a room is higher than that of any other city in the British Isles. It is more than twice the proportion in London. I have here a government report which says: "With regard to the number of people housed in one-room dwellings, Dublin heads the list with 33.9 per cent compared to London with 13.4 per cent. Edinburgh comes next with 21.9 per cent and Glasgow next with 20 per cent.

Q. MR. MANLY. I think that perhaps the 25,000 families you mentioned is just a slip of the memory. Have you your notes there? A. No. George Russell told me that.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. What is the population of Dublin? A. About four hundred thousand.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. Do I understand you to tell me that it is not an uncommon condition for a family of mother and father and daughters and sons to live all in one room? A. Yes.

Q. Do you know that even in the island tribes of the South Sea Islands the boys and girls, when they reach majority, are, out of a sense of modesty, housed away from their parents? A. No, I didn't know that.

Q. And yet you mean to tell me that in Dublin grown-up boys and girls sleep and live in that one room with their parents, and work out their lives there? A. Yes. And yet the report that I will leave with the Commission shows that disease due to immorality is astonishingly low in Ireland.

Q. COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. The proportion of those living in one-room tenements in Glasgow is also very high, isn't it? A. Yes, it is; but Dublin is worse than any other city in the British Isles, according to the figures given in the "Emergency Report on Housing Conditions in Dublin."

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. Would you want to make a comparison between living conditions in Irish cities, Dublin, Belfast, and Cork, with our cities here? A. Well, the difference, I should say, is that there is more of hopefulness in an American city—more hope of work than there is in an Irish city.

Q. MR. MANLY. You investigated the packing-house district in Chicago, did you not, not so long ago—about 1918—did you not? A. No. I was present at the stock-yard hearings. But I made some budgets of the people in the Italian district and elsewhere in Chicago.

Q. Well, how did the conditions in the Italian district in Chicago, the general living and housing conditions, compare with the conditions in Dublin and Cork? A. Well, I didn't meet any families in my budget investigations that were living in one room.

Q. And that was a common condition, however, in Dublin? A. Yes. And I did not meet any people who were living principally on bread and tea, and I did meet those in Dublin.

Q. Their sole diet was bread and tea? A. Yes; all they had while I was staying in the dockers' quarter was bread and tea and jam. I think there is a very significant statement about the diet of the Irish people in a report of the charitable organization called the Saint Vincent de Paul in Dublin. In the pamphlet called, "The Poor in Dublin," they have this

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sentence: "A widow who, after paying the rent of her room, has even a shilling a day to feed two or three or more children, is considered a doubtful case by the society. Yet a shilling a day will give the family only bread and tea and maybe a few potatoes. Possibly a little oleomargarine may be purchased, but under no circumstances can the family be said to have sufficient food."

Q. MR. MANLY. This means, if they are a doubtful case, that they will not get charitable relief? A. Yes.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. Compare that with the condition of the farmers in Ireland; the standard of living in the west of Ireland, where it is difficult to make a good return because of the lack of fertility of the soil. A. The one-room cabin prevails throughout the poorer agricultural districts of western Ireland. In Sligo these cabins are made often of mud, sometimes with a barrel for a chimney. In Donegal, with which I am more familiar, the one-room cabin also prevails. Sometimes there is a room in the rear where there is a loom for the manufacture of tweed.

Q. That is the domestic industry there—the manufacture of tweed? A. Yes.

Q. Would you say that is the situation of the typical Irish peasant? A. Yes, I would say that the most of them are like that.

Q. It is true that two-thirds of Ireland has passed from landlordism to peasant ownership; and it is still as bad as that? A. Yes. The peasant laborers sell their labor in what is called the hiring fair, at which cattle and horses are sold. These men stand in a pen and offer their services for as low as one hundred dollars a year. Their employers are also the landlords, and if they ask for a raise in wages, their employers can evict them. That happened while I was there.

Q. So that there has not been the improvement in rural conditions in Ireland that we have been led to believe following the Gladstone and the Windham Acts? A. No. During the war there was a great increase in agricultural acreage and prosperity. The profits of the farmers did increase, as the bank returns show. But according to the statistics of Professor Smith of Cork University, in Ireland this post-war prosperity would last only about two post-war years, because by that time England would have reestablished her former agricultural trade relations.

Q. MR. MANLY. Are there any further points you want to make, Miss Russell? A. There was just the point on health, and that is all. When I was in Dublin I went to the lunacy department in Dublin Castle. I was given a great deal of material on lunacy in Ireland, and in one of the pamphlets there was a comment on the fact that the Irish in America contributed the highest proportion of foreign-born to American insane asylums, and there was a comment on this fact which read: "As to why this should be, we can offer no reasoned explanation. But just as the Irish famine was, apart from its direct effects, responsible for so much physical and mental distress in the country, so it would seem not improbable that the unnutritious dietary of the majority of the population of the country, when acting over many generations, has acted on the nervous system, and in this way has developed those neuropathic and psychopathic tendencies which are the precursors of insanity."

In regard to tuberculosis, I was given a good deal of material by Sir William Thompson, Registrar for Ireland, who showed me that, according to the pre-war chart, Ireland stood among those countries of Europe which had the greatest amount of tuberculosis. She was fourth on the mortality list, being exceeded only by Austria, Hungary, and Serbia. During the war her mortality was very high. It jumped from 9,387 per 100,000 in 1913 to 9,680 in 1917.

The low vitality in Ireland results in a low birth-rate. Contrary to what is generally expected, the birth-rate in Ireland is not high. Compared with Scotland, for instance, the birth-rate from 1907 to 1916 for Scotland in average number of babies to every thousand people, was 29.5 per cent, while for Ireland it was 22.8 per cent.

Poverty and low vitality also result in insanity. It also means illiteracy, for a good many children have to go to work rather than to school. H. C. Ferguson, head of the Charity Organization Society in Dublin, says that in Ireland 60 per cent of the children below the age of fourteen and able to work are at work. In Scotland, which has virtually the same population as Ireland, there are only 37,500 children employed.

A LETTER FROM IRELAND

COMMISSIONER WALSH. I must suspend now, for I must leave, but before I go I would like to read into the record a letter which I have just received from Reverend George F. Marshall, of North Wallingford, Massachusetts:

"Dear Sir: A letter received from Ireland a few days ago is responsible for my corresponding with you now. The letter was written on November 22. The inclosed is part of the letter. I have made no change in punctuation or spelling. It came from no solicitation on my part. I know that the writer is an absolutely reliable person. He says that people going along the roads hear the order to halt. If you stand you will be beaten brutally. If you run you will be shot. This means that a lot of Black and Tans scour the country roads on raiding parties. Their victims are chiefly people whom they meet or overtake on the roads.

"The following is from a letter written from Ireland dated November 22, 1920: 'The country is in an awful state at present. I will give you one day's work of the force that is known as the Black and Tans. On the week before last they left Tralee and came by Ballyfinnane and beat everybody at the creamery most brutally; went on to Fieries and burned Champion Sullivan's hay shed, on to Farranfore and burned the hotel to the ground, then to Ballyhar and Currans and burned three farm houses and hay sheds. On their return burned Mike Kelleher's hay shed at Glanbane. Shot young Sughreel working at the railway. Shot every donkey they met dead, and carried off all the fowl they met and Katy Lynch's five geese. Went on to Marmers Bridge and at the old school took young Hoffman out of his car and shot him dead on the road. That is one day's work. Since then there is two shot in BallyMcElligott and several wounded. On yesterday the military fired on some youngsters at the old castle, wounding Thom Price's son and young Sullivan of the Railway Gates.'"

COMMISSIONER WALSH. I submit the letter for whatever weight the Commission may wish to give this evidence. I have similar letters sent to me which I do not happen to have with me at this moment.

POLITICAL LINE-UP IN IRELAND

Q. I have one question that some present have wanted to have asked. I expect it might better be asked from some responsible Irish leader, but I am sure we would be glad to have your views. By self-determination what is meant—an Irish Republic and nothing else, or a greater degree than at present of self-government in Ireland? A. By self-determination they mean the right of the people to declare what form of government they want.

Q. As a matter of fact, is the sentiment which you discovered in your investigations in Ireland for a republic or for a greater measure of home rule? A. For a republic, I would say.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. How universal is that? A. It is almost universal.

Q. Is the present political line-up in Ireland confined almost entirely to the forces for the republic and the forces for the present condition of union with England? That is, has the party which we once knew as the Home Rule Party been obliterated from the scene, and the forces we have now are on the one hand the Republicans, and on the other the Unionists—that is, those who still adhere to the union with Eng-

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land? A. Yes. I knew of one man who belonged to the old Redmond Party who was going to a meeting; and he said he didn't know why he was going, because it was the only party in Ireland that had no power at all.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. Dr. Howe asked you a very interesting question a few moments ago. That is as to what predominated in the minds of the public men of England, the political, economic, or religious argument against Irish independence. I don't want to ask too pertinent a question, but is it not a fact that the economic argument is the dominant one, and the political and religious arguments are used to bolster up, to prevent any change? A. I think the political is dominant before the public.

Q. I know; but what is the reason that the political leaders of England are opposed to a republic? They say they are opposed to the independence of Ireland, and then you ask them why, and they bolster up their arguments by economic and religious facts. A. I think the real reason is chiefly economic.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. And in economic you would include all the questions about the rights and wrongs of protecting England's army and navy? A. Yes, and the sources of her food supply.

Q. MR. MANLY. Is not the question of the breaking up of the Empire—has not that question an economic phase? Is not there an economic interest on the part of Great Britain in the preservation of the Empire? A. Yes.

Q. COMMISSIONER MAURER. After all, the political issues, such as a military base, and all the subjects which are interrelated with each other, would come back to the economic issue? A. Yes.

Q. I think you would find the economic foundation responsible for the question. A. Yes.

CHILD LABOR

Q. Now, I would like to ask another question. You saw the children working in Ireland. I would like to know, have you any idea how young some of those children are who are exploited there? A. I knew a girl who belonged to the National University in Ireland, who was interested in a club for these children in Dublin, who told me of a little news girl who was six years old who attended the club.

Q. She only worked as a news girl? A. Yes. Now, in parts of Ireland the children go to these hiring fairs and sell their services too. They go as young as nine years old. I know of one person who went when he was nine years old to a hiring fair and was employed for three months at $15.

Q. $15 a month? A. No, $15 for the three months.

Q. COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. Was he allowed to do so because his mother was a widow? That would be an exception to the child labor law. A. This was under the Irish Educational Act, that permits a child who is two miles away from a school not to attend school. But he can work.

Q. COMMISSIONER MAURER. How many hours are they required to attend school? A. I do not know.

Q. Do they work at night? A. I do not know.

Q. Another question about these farms, describing how they live in their cottages. As a rule, what is the acreage of these farms? Are they large farms and these men tenants on them, or are they small farms? A. You mean the farm laborers?

Q. I am speaking of those people who lived in those one-room cottages. How much ground do they till? A. They were tenants around Donegal.

Q. They were working for someone who owned the farm land? A. Yes.

Q. Did you have any experience with the independent farmer who owned his own land and his own home and tilled his own soil? A. Well, a great many of those are not wholly independent yet. They are paying on their farms.

Q. Their land is covered with a mortgage? A. Yes. Of course, as I said, they were prosperous during the war years.

Q. MR. MANLY. Relatively prosperous? A. Yes. There was a big demand for agricultural products during the war, and then they were relatively prosperous. But as I said a little while ago, this prosperity was due to die, according to Professor Smith, professor of economics at Cork University—this prosperity was due to die in about two years.

Q. COMMISSIONER MAURER. Do you know anything about the fertility of the soil in Ireland? A. It varies with the sections. The northwest is a very stony country. Huge holdings sell for a few dollars. In one of Lionel Smith-Gordon's books he tells of a large holding in Donegal that sold for $10.

Q. Would not that land be good for grazing purposes? A. No. The scrawny cattle you see there would answer that. The soil there has to be hand spaded on account of the boulders in the soil. And it is so unfertile that it is necessary for the farmer to drag the seaweed, the kelp from the ocean, when the tide is out, and put it in these big rush baskets and put this kelp in the furrows of the soil there. They either do that or have to go to the expense of buying artificial fertilizer.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. Miss Russell, you have quite obviously been investigating economic and social conditions there. Did you make any investigations into crime and vice in Ireland? A. I was in Limerick when they had the big strike in the spring of 1919. At night the city was in complete darkness on account of the striking of even the people who were connected with the manufacture of light. And the force of constables changed from 600 constables who were employed during the day to the night watch. I think Limerick is the only city in the British Isles which retains the old custom of the night watch. And I was told by a journalist in Limerick that there were only sixty members of this night watch who took the place of these 600 constables during the day. When the courts were held there was no extra case of crime listed from Limerick during that period.

Q. Some of the Royal Irish Constabulary who were on the witness stand last week said that on their details throughout Ireland they had never had any murder cases come under their notice, or arson, burglary, or any of the major crimes. The most they had come under their attention in years of service had been petty misdemeanors and brawls. They gave the Commission the impression that there was little crime in Ireland, very little crime. Did your investigation cover that matter? Have you any statistics? A. No, I haven't any statistics on the subject. I know that the Countess of Aberdeen, in a magazine called *The Child,* in an article published in 1911, told of the social conditions in Dublin and the great stress that people were under for just the means of existence. And she said that it was remarkable that there was very little crime to get what the people need; and that there ought to be a greater stimulus among philanthropic people to give to these people than there had been evidence of.

Q. COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. You mean that under starvation pressure there still had been very little crime? A. Under starvation pressure, exactly.

Q. MR. MANLY. You lived for a time among the slums of Dublin, and also were around among the people in all hours of the day and night in other sections? A. Yes.

Q. How did the general condition of the streets compare with the condition of the streets in New York, Chicago, and other American cities during the same hours of the day and night? Did you feel safe there? A. I felt perfectly safe. I walked from the telegraph office in Limerick at two o'clock in the morning through perfectly black streets to my hotel. I inquired the direction several times, and was finally assisted to my hotel by a member of the Black Watch. But there was no interference with my progress at all.

Q. Was there at any time while you were in Ireland any interference or any personal assault or any pickpockets at all, in your experience? A. No. I had only one unpleasant experience while I was in Ireland. It was about three o'clock in the morning in a railroad station; but that was all.

Q. What station was that? A. At Galway.

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